

The 'Weather-God' in Hittite Anatolia

An examination of the archaeological
and textual sources

Hilary J. Deighton

B A R International Series 143
1982

B.A.R.

B.A.R., 122 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7BP, England

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B.A.R.-S143, 1982: 'The 'Weather-God' in Hittite Anatolia'

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ISBN 9780860541745 paperback

ISBN 9781407328836 e-book

DOI <https://doi.org/10.30861/9780860541745>

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

This book is available at www.barpublishing.com

To

The Reverend Ian and Mrs. Jinty Deighton

sine quibus non

with love and respect

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ANET</i>	Ancient Near Eastern Texts (see under Pritchard in the Bibliography)
<i>Bo.</i>	Boğazköy (tablet)
<i>Cat.</i>	Catalogue des Textes Hittites (see under Laroche in the Bibliography)
<i>IBOT</i>	Istanbul arkeoloji müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy tabletlerinden seçme metinler, Istanbul
<i>KBo</i>	Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkoi, Berlin
<i>KUB</i>	Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazkoi, Berlin
<i>WVDOG</i>	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orientgesellschaft, Berlin
<i>VBoT</i>	Verstreute Boghazkoi-texte, Marburg

PREFACE

In setting out to investigate the 'Weather-god' in Hittite Anatolia, I really began at the end. When I met the myth of the ^DU of Nerik I was forced to reconsider previous assumptions about the so-called 'Weather-god'. The evident nature of the god in this myth, together with some archaeological evidence, which I later considered in greater detail, made me begin to see the whole basis of Anatolian religion in the time of the Hittites in a particular, and unusual, light. I began to wonder why such religious concepts should have evolved, and decided that the answer could lie in the very fabric of the land. After examining the geology and historical geography of Anatolia I felt I had found an answer, and one which did not seem to have been given due consideration before.

I have set out my chapters in, as it were, ascending order, starting not at the beginning of my investigations, but at the beginning for Anatolia, and working through the various forms of evidence till we culminate in the myth that really started it all. My final chapter on the Hurrian god has to be included if only to show that it is really not a part of this study at all.

The nature of the supposed 'Weather-god' has been a problem which has never been dealt with in adequate depth. I hope this work will breach that particular gap and show that, when we put all the information together, there emerges a good, consistent pattern. Over the years there has been a change in thinking, but it has not gone far enough, nor been sufficiently documented. It has been my intention to set forth a clear account, backed up by the relevant evidence, of the true nature of the god to whom I shall refer as the ^DU. I trust that by the end of the work my case may be proven.

No work of scholarship comes to fruition without the advice, support and encouragement of many people, and I should like to record my particular thanks to the following:

Mr. James Macqueen, Dr. Paul Hancock, Mr. Don Carleton, Mr. Chris Matthews (for the illustrations), the late Mrs. Grace Colquhoun, and the Rev. Ian A. and Mrs. Janet H. Deighton.

CHAPTER 1

THE PHYSICAL BACKGROUND

In order to understand the religion of a people for whom we have no record of philosophy, nor revelation, it is essential to seek some way in which to make their religion intelligible. One way is to examine their physical environment (1). It is my belief that this forms the most profitable basis for the study of Anatolian religion, and it is an aspect of this study which has largely been neglected (2). For this reason we devote the first chapter of this enquiry to a survey of the particular physical features of Anatolia which may help to provide an insight into the religion which developed there.

Anatolian religion has certain remarkable characteristics which will be discussed in later chapters. It is very much earth-bound, the gods are chthonic in function and provenance - including the 'Sun-goddess' and, the main subject of this enquiry, the so-called 'Weather-god'. From what we can see of the indigenous deity it is obvious (as will be shown) that he is concerned with water from the earth, and mountains, rather than water from the sky (3).

If the environment of central Turkey is studied it becomes more clear how a non-scientific people, with only their local horizons of understanding, should have developed their particular religious ideas.

First of all, it must be pointed out that the ecology of the region has been drastically altered since Hittite times (4, 5, 6, 7). Until c. 2500 B.C. the climate was moister than at present, the areas which are now arid steppe were rich savannah land in prehistoric times (8). The mountain areas were very thickly forested - there still remain some areas of forest, but by far the greater part has been destroyed. We do indeed have textual evidence for trees surrounding Hittite cities (9). There are most certainly no woods around Boğazköy now. Work has been done on the history of deforestation in Eastern Anatolia (10) in which the complete disappearance of a dominant species (*Quercus* - oak) has been noted. (The evidence may suggest species preferring a more temperate climate existed in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age, whereas there has since been an increase in steppic species.) The wood has gone for building, firewood, clearance for agriculture, or has been destroyed by goats. The introduction of the goat generally spells ecological disaster - overgrazing and destruction of plant cover leads to erosion,

which is unable to be rectified on a human time-scale. The eroded material may be carried down river to silt up the estuaries - e.g. excessive erosion in the hinterland of Ephesus led to the silting-up which destroyed it as a port. Thus the present-day ecological conditions in Turkey cannot be taken as a guide to the landscape which was familiar to the Hittites.

Given that the forest cover has largely disappeared and bad farming coupled with overgrazing has reduced considerably the fertility of the soil, changing the aspect of the countryside, there remain certain constants which must be considered to have great significance for the interpretation of Hittite religion.

The climate has not changed to any great extent, although it has become somewhat drier. The ground water provision is similar, although the water table has been falling since the Pleistocene. It is ground water which is important in this context.

Firstly rainfall provision: Most of Anatolia is semi-arid with rainfall levels of 16 - 24" (11). The period of greatest rainfall is Spring, the season of maximum growth, and it comes generally in the form of thunderstorms. This might be expected to have an effect on the religious conceptions of the indigenous people, but the effect was not so noticeable as in other areas of the Near East. (The consequences of a storm in a highland area are minimal compared with the consequences of a storm in a plain, as in Mesopotamia, where storms were violent and destructive.) Thunder can be the voice of the god (KA IM), and there was a special god of thunderstorms (12), but these roles are not the centre of any mythology to which we have access. That thunder should be the voice of the god is reasonable - to what other agency should it be ascribed, It is also reasonable to have a ^DU of thunderstorms - there was a ^DU to cover most aspects of life. There was a 'thunder vessel' (13), which was filled with offerings in autumn, and then broken open in the Spring Festival. This could be a symbol of the life which is closed up in earth during the winter and breaks through again in spring.

Rain is indubitably important for the promotion of growth in spring, but ground water is also of most particular importance in this part of the world, and it will be shown that the sources of ground water, and the particular physical features of Central Anatolia might well produce some highly unusual ideas about the gods and cosmology. In fact it will be seen that rain does not have a great effect on the provision of water, or rather, not in an obvious way that the Anatolians could have observed and understood.

There is a great deal of precipitation in winter in the Anatolian mountains - this is in the form of snow. In the Hittite area there are on average 75 - 125 plus days of frost in the year (14). The melt-waters are an

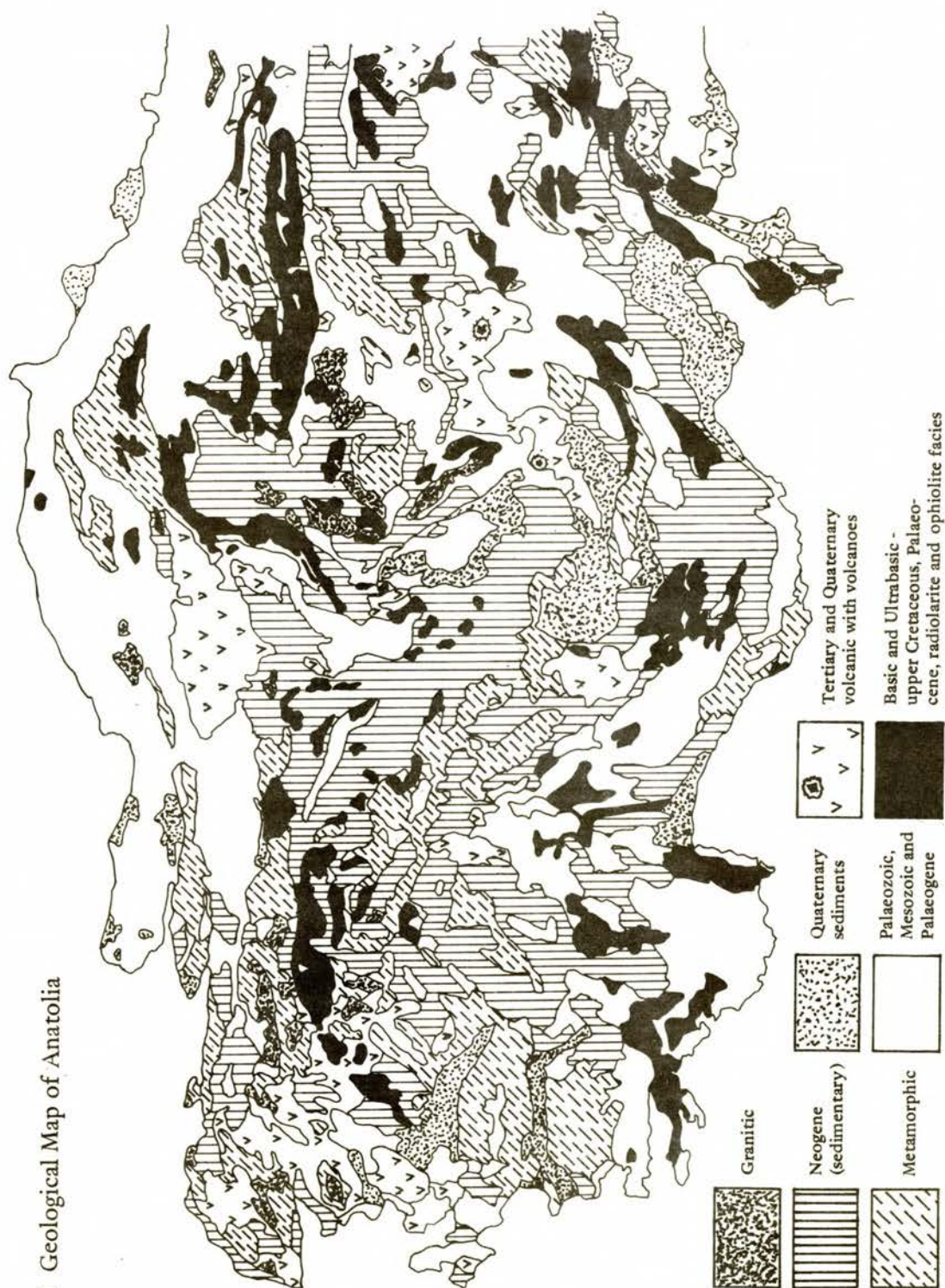
important seasonal source of water (to this day peasants bring down ice from the mountains as a water supply), and they can be observed not to come from the sky, but from the earth in rivers and springs, although the relation of springs to melt-waters would be at least as unclear as the relation of springs to rain. It is possible to explain the position of Zalianu, the mountain deity, in the *purulli* festival, and the connections between the ^DU of Nerik (15, 16), the ^DU of Zaḫalukka (17) and Telepinu (18) and mountains by remembering this.

Whatever may happen above ground - deforestation, erosion, increased aridity, increased salinity as a result of bad irrigation (as in the Konya basin and Mesopotamia), man is still scarcely able to change the shape of the ground itself, and in historic times there can have been few geomorphological changes in the Hittite area. There has been no recent volcanic activity, although there are areas of volcanic rock within the curve of the Halys, mostly rhyolite and basalt. Basalt is the volcanic rock which provides the best internal drainage (19) and therefore provides springs.

Most of the area in question is covered with sedimentary rock (20), Cretaceous, and especially Tertiary limestones (see Fig. 1). The two major factors in the geological development of Turkey have been periodic inundation, and tectonic forces. The area was covered by the ancient sea known as the Tethys Sea (21), but the submersions were periodic - in the Permian the coastlines were roughly the same as at present, but in reverse (22). The later inundations were fresh water. Even as late as the Pleistocene the Konya Plain area was a large lake of some 2000 square miles expanse, while the Tuz Gölü and Lake Burdur were considerably deeper than at present (17' and 250' respectively) (23). Massive crustal folding has led to the development of the Pontus and Taurus mountain ranges, although their present height is partly due to uplift during the Quaternary, rather than folding. There are fault lines and considerable activity from the movement of the small plate on which Turkey stands against its neighbours. The last major glaciation, the Würmian, was about 20,000 years ago, with a minor re-advance about 9000 B.C. The climatic conditions, however, approached those of the present day by about 8000 B.C. (24). For our purposes, the important factor is the predominance of limestones (showing in places partial to complete metamorphosis), as a result of the extensive marine and lacustrine inundations (25).

It is this predominance of limestones that holds the key to the problems of water from the earth, gods in holes, and gods underground in general. Whilst it must at all times be remembered that the barren hillsides of today are not what met the eyes of the Hittites and their predecessors, there are features of limestone areas which cannot lightly be passed over. In the light of the

Fig. 1 Geological Map of Anatolia



particular karstic environment of central Anatolia a new interpretation of certain aspects of Hittite religion makes much more sense.

Karst (26) (limestone scenery) takes many and occasionally extremely spectacular forms: the cockpits of Jamaica, the cenotes of Yucatan and the strange conical hills of Indo-China are among its many different manifestations. All are caused by the action of water.

Most limestones are porous, water seeps through them, as through a sponge, between the grains, along the joints. In areas where there is little vegetal cover to hold the water almost all will disappear into the rock, and in areas which are well vegetated with a high rate of evapotranspiration none may get through to the rock. The water seeps downwards, destroying by solution, and also building, by deposition. It is possible for all the limestone to be dissolved and disappear (as in south central Turkey) (27). The waters collect and a level, the water table, is fixed. (The water table is not always horizontal). In an area with a developed system of channels (i.e. caves) rivers will develop, and lakes. It is possible for rivers to flow underground for many miles before debouching fully formed. Rivers in karst are also able to flow under ridges as if they were bridges, flow occasionally underground and occasionally overground, vanish into the earth never to reappear. It is possible now to investigate and explain most of these phenomena, but to minds not accustomed to thinking in the modern manner it must surely have been awe-inspiring to see a river apparently vanish into, or appear out of solid rock. The notion that the rock was not in fact particularly solid would, one suspects, have amazed and indeed possibly appalled.

Not only is precipitation absorbed into the rock, so that its obvious effect on the terrain is minimized, but as the water collects in stable reservoirs it is quite possible that the effect of rain on the water supply will not really be visible. Comparison of flow between an ordinary river (the Tiber) and a karst river (the Nera) (28) shows that while the former fluctuates a great deal, the latter shows very little variation. Therefore, although it might be argued that the ancients were quite intelligent enough to know that if it rained in the hills the water supply would be increased in the valleys, it must be pointed out that in an area of underground drainage it is quite possible that rain in the hills will not have any immediately visible effect on water in the valleys. It may, of course, occur that a spring will show considerable increase in volume after rain, but it does not always happen, as might be expected, and this in an important point.

Springs (29), rather than rivers, are the main providers of water in karst regions. They can occur in various ways and for various causes. Some, springs which

appear at the foot of cliffs, which bubble up from under pools, which shoot out of a hillside, can be quite spectacular. In the Hittite area there are also a remarkable number of thermal springs (30) (see Fig. 2). These are the product of vulcanism, not karst, but there would be no way for the early Anatolians to know the difference, and these must certainly have seemed a supernatural phenomenon to those who would be unaware of the natural forces at work (31).

The significance of these particular geological and geographical features is surely clear. The earth was important to the people of Anatolia, and a lot happened within it. Their water appeared out of it, sometimes as if by magic, and it could just as easily disappear - can the Anatolian sulking gods vanishing under the earth not be interpreted as a drying spring, an intermittent stream, or a river flowing into rock? This might seem a more suitable explanation than a 'seasonal' one. The seasons are predictable, and may not have been so harsh in Hittite times as they are now, when there is very little vegetation cover to protect crops, provide firewood, keep the soil in place and generally render life less hazardous. The water supply is, however, not so predictable in karst, and may seem to be more dependent upon the whim of a god.

The gods dive underground, and into holes in the earth (32, 33) which are discussed below. The 'hole in the ground' is a singularly important feature of karst, and indeed the development of these holes into huge holes, leaving ridges and then finally isolated hills, has been suggested as an explanation for all karst landscapes (34).

Certainly holes there are in large numbers and varieties, some may be very dramatic. 'Holes' or dolines are formed in various ways, directly or indirectly as a result of solution. They may be enlarged joints, forming potholes, gentle hollows, or rather less gentle hollows caused by subsidence of a weakened infrastructure, or dramatic gaps caused by the collapse of cave roofs. Such are the cenotes of Yucatan, and similar lakes in collapse dolines may be found in Turkey (35).

These cavities in the ground are striking wherever they may be found and are certainly a feature of Anatolia. It is very common to ascribe them to the agency of some supernatural being 'The Devil's Buttermilk' (in the Yorkshire Dales) for example, and to imagine strange creatures living in them, such as the Witch of Wookey Hole. The atmosphere of a cave is inescapably numinous, and the entrance to a pothole may form a very suitable image of the gates of the underworld.

It is very plain, therefore, that such distinctive features of the physical environment must be very carefully considered before any conclusions may be drawn about Anatolian religion. There may have been a borrowing of some names and concepts from Mesopotamia, such was perhaps

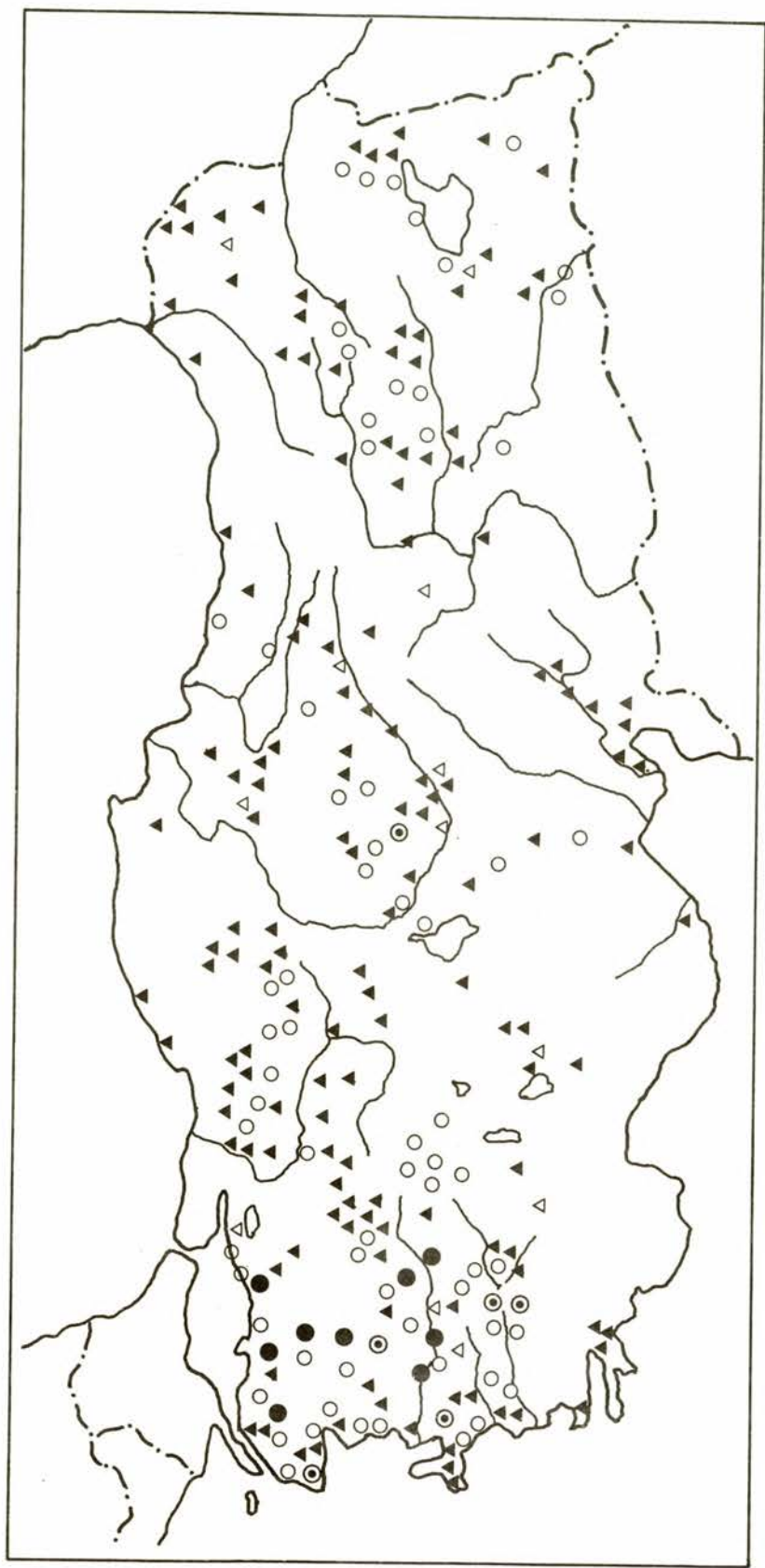


Fig. 2 Distribution of Thermal Springs in Anatolia

inevitable. The conditions which led to the Anatolian ideas of god were, however, utterly different from those of Mesopotamia, a flat alluvial plain in a very hot climate. We must not seek artificial correspondences. Anatolian religion, while having some parallels in other cultures, is of an unusual nature. There are other areas of karst in the world, of course, and one might wonder why similar concepts were not developed elsewhere. It is never possible to answer such questions satisfactorily, but it is very possible to say that the Anatolian concept of the water god being a part, not of the sky, but of the earth, is, given the environmental circumstances, perfectly logical.

There is one other point to be considered briefly: Anatolia is part of a small plate which is at the centre of considerable activity. The North Anatolian Fault runs along the north of the Hittite area. Studies have been done on historical seismic activity in Turkey (36) and it has been proven that there are bursts of activity interspersed with quiet periods of a hundred years and more. The epicentres of these earthquakes do shift (earlier this century most activity was in the Aegean zone, whereas now it is in the Van region). There are continual small earthquakes along the North Anatolian Fault, although they may not cause sufficient damage to be recorded. Even allowing for very long periods of quiescence it must be assumed that the inhabitants of central Anatolia experienced earthquakes, and that these must surely have made a profound impression upon them.

So we have a picture of the land of the Hittites. It was pierced with caverns and mysterious hollows, it produced water arbitrarily, and seemingly out of nowhere, from time to time it shuddered. With nothing else to go on but the world they could see and feel, the people of the Hittite region could have been expected to be impressed by the dramatic land in which they lived. The land provided them with all their needs - crops, grazing, water - and could also destroy them in an afternoon if it chose. It is reasonable to assume that their surroundings formed their religion, and their religion was convincingly chthonic. Any phenomenon such as thunder or rain would be assigned godly stature, but the gods that mattered were the ones who lived in and controlled the ground.

CHAPTER 1: NOTES

1. The most significant promotion of this theory is contained in Frankfort, 1961. This examines the effects of the physical (and social) environment of Mesopotamia and Egypt upon their religions. Other methods of interpretation, such as the structuralism of Levi-Strauss, do not seem to offer any great assistance to the study of Anatolian religion.
2. An exception is Gordon, 1967, who has also recognized the relevance of karstic geomorphology in the study of Anatolian religion. He postulates 'underground water-course' as a translation of ^DKASKAL.KUR mainly on the evidence of treaties containing mention of *duđenler* (ponors).
3. There is a ^DU *ḫeuwaš* (of rain) but he is not of any rank.
4. Butzer, 1973.
5. Dewdney, 1971.
6. Beaumont, Blake & Wagstaff, 1976.
7. McCoy, 1980.
8. Cohen, 1970.
9. E.g. 14th and 16th days of the AN.TAḫ.ŠUM festival. Rituals take place at the *ḫuwaši* of the ^DU in the grove of boxwood trees (GIŠ.ḪI.A ^{GIŠ}TUG), and on the 19th day of AN.TAḫ.ŠUM the king starts a horse race from the boxwood trees (KBo X 20 II 27 - 31, and KBo X 20 III 8). KUB X 91 II describes a festival in which the god is taken in a chariot through the Tawiniya gate of Ḫattuša to the wood (see Gurney, 1952, p. 155 f. and Carter, 1962, p. 26 f.).
10. Willcox, 1974.
11. Dewdney, 1971, p. 34.
12. ^DU *ḫarši*/^DU *ḫaršiḫarši*.
13. ^{DUG}*ḫarši* - see Chapter 4.
14. Dewdney, 1971, p. 35.
15. Haas, 1970, p. 106, function of Zalianu and the ^DU in bringing water to Nerik identical.
16. Mountains the beloved home of the ^DU, KUB XXXVI 90 ob. 25.
17. E.g. KUB XXXVIII 92 7 - 8.
18. E.g. IBoT II 13 I 2; IBoT III 1, rev. 73. See Chapter

4 for further details of this connection between ^DU-types and mountains.

19. Tolman, 1937, Ch. X.
20. Geological maps of Turkey, Sinop and Kayseri, Maden Tektik ve Arama Enstitüsü, Ankara.
21. Formed by the separation of Gondwanaland from Laurasia during the Mesozoic (Jurassic - Cretaceous).
22. Brinkmann, 1976, p. 33.
23. Butzer, 1973, p. 20.
24. Butzer, 1973, p. 18 f.
25. Brinkmann, 1976.
26. Jennings, 1971.
27. Cohen, 1970.
28. Jennings, 1971, p. 67.
29. Tolman, 1937, Ch. XV.
30. Brinkmann, 1976, p. 105.
31. In this connection note Macqueen's (1980) suggestion for the hot spring of Havza as the location of Nerik.
32. See Chapter 2.
33. Under the earth are also the Nine Seas of the underworld and the Nine River-banks (see e.g. KUB XXXVI 89 rev. 7 and Chapter 4) - perhaps it is not too fanciful to suggest this may be a memory of some explorer who ventured into a 'hole' and found water-filled cave chambers?
34. Grund, 1914, pp. 621 - 640.
35. Jennings, 1971, p. 125.
36. Ambraseys, 1970, pp. 143 - 165; 1971, pp. 375 - 379; 1975, pp. 7 - 16.

CHAPTER 2

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The first thing that must be said about the archaeological evidence for religion, of any kind, in the area of Hittite domination, is that whatever there may have been, very little exists today.

There are a few temple buildings: five in Boğazköy; the structures that closed off the entrance to Yazılıkaya; a large building variously interpreted as a palace or a temple at Alaca Hüyük; a probable temple at İnandık (1); and the sparse remains of the putative temple at Tarsus.

On Büyükkale we find buildings which would appear to have some cultic significance within the residential and administrative akropolis.

One area of artistic achievement which has been seen as a Hittite feature is also an area which seems to have been turned to expression of some religious impulse or duty, and that is monumental rock carving. These remarkable carvings out of the living rock are generally found in association with running water. Orthostat carving is also found, at Alaca Hüyük, Malatya (and other sites which do not carry scenes of relevance here), and on structures such as the spring sanctuary at Eflâton Pınar, or the monument interpreted as a royal grave at Gâvurkalesi.

In the minor arts we find some statuettes, in very similar artistic traditions to the bas-relief rock sculptures, and seals.

Other monuments which must be considered are the underground water-hole near Temple I at Boğazköy, and the briefly published sanctuary at Ilgın.

Before considering any of the above in detail, however, it is necessary to appreciate the difficulties inherent in the evidence. While it is true that we have textual evidence for the sort of official ceremony which might take place within a temple, we have none for the sort of use to which such buildings as the underground pool at Boğazköy, or Building C on Büyükkale might be put. Of the temple equipment nothing at all remains. We know that there would be a cult statue, a bedroom, a dining room, kitchens and an assortment of other rooms for various purposes connected with the religious and business organisation of the temples, and these would have been filled with officials and bustle. There is nothing left but the bare walls and the statue pedestals. The statues themselves were made of precious

materials, so that fact that they did not survive the destruction of the Hittite empire is hardly remarkable.

There is no textual evidence for the significance of the rock monuments save the hieroglyphic inscriptions they carry. Generally, these are of rather more political than religious interest, as with the inscriptions on seals.

If an archaeologist were presented with the bare walls of Canterbury cathedral, an Italian roadside shrine, containing only a picture of the Madonna with a few candles, and a coin with the legend 'Elizabeth, Queen by the Grace of God', he could draw very few significant inferences from these about the nature of Christianity. With the help of a handful of texts he might hope to come a little nearer, but endless questions would remain. So it is with the search for the religion of the Hittites, and especially for any one particular aspect of it. This point has to be underlined for, if one wishes to draw conclusions, one must understand the limits within which it is necessary to work.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

A glance at the map (see Fig. 3) reveals certain striking and problematic features about the distribution of religious monuments of the Hittite period.

It is, of course, logical to find a concentration around Boğazköy/Hattuša, the capital of the empire. It is interesting to find a cluster of monuments in the south-eastern corner of Anatolia and especially on the two rivers which flow through the eastern Taurus, the Seyhan and the Ceyhan. It is notable to find such striking remains as Eflâton Pınar, Karabel and the goddess of Mt. Sipylon so far out of the Hittite area.

The south-east of Anatolia and northern Syria were the regions where the neo-Hittite states sprang up after the destruction of the Hittite empire (in the early twelfth century B.C.). This was the area of Kizzuwatna and Hurrian influence long before then.

To the west we begin to have more problems. We know that the rival kingdom of Arzawa, which was Luwian-speaking, lay to the west, and the kingdoms of Aššuwa, the Lukka-lands, the Şeḫa-river land, Wiluša and Mira-Kuwaliya, and, of course, the much-debated Ahḫiyawa. The problem is to know where.

This is a matter on which scholarship is much divided. Most of the heat goes into the argument over the location and identification of Ahḫiyawa (2). For the location of Arzawa there is more general agreement. The major source for all discussion is the military campaigns of Muṣili (3). Following Garstang and Gurney (4), Macqueen (5) places Arzawa along the Hermus valley. He includes in Arzawan territory (bearing in mind its powerful status) the Maeander and Cayster river valleys as well. This interpretation covers the area round İzmir and Manisa where rock monuments are to be found (see below). Macqueen is prepared to accept the equation Apašaš = Ephesos. Bryce (6) equates Arzawa with classical Milyas, i.e. including part of Lycia. He makes the equation Apašaš = Habesos/Antiphellos. The main objection to locations in the south-west is the lack of second millennium sites in the region. Mellink does not believe this is necessarily a problem (7). Götze (8) prefers to place Arzawa in Pamphylia, where the problem of lack of sites applies. Houwink Ten Cate (9) places Arzawa along the Hermus valley (possibly) and inland between the Sangarius and the Lake District. He agrees with Macqueen in placing Aššuwa in the Troad. Mellaart (10) and Bryce (11) assign the area around Beyşehir Gölü (sites Eflâton

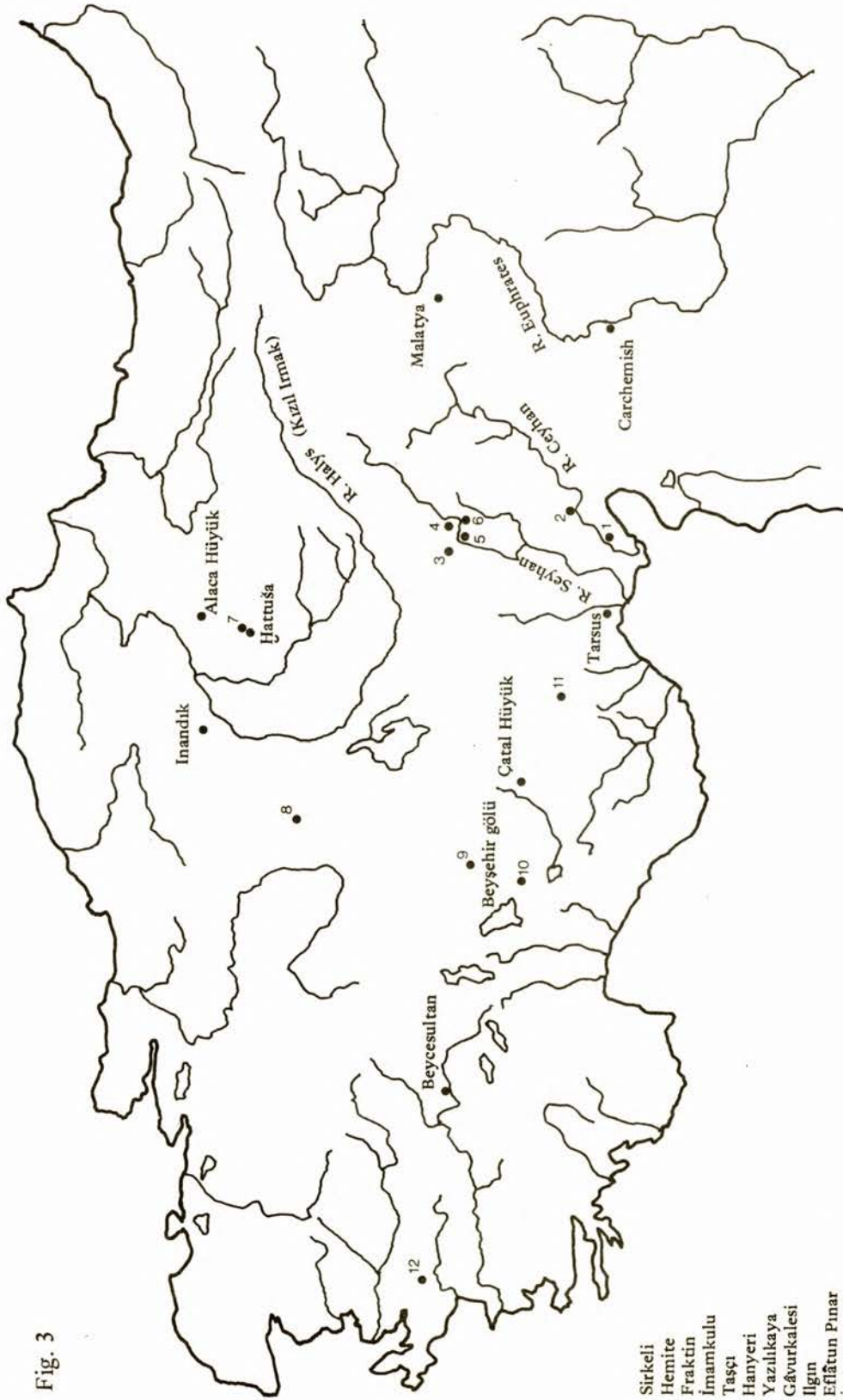


Fig. 3

- 1 Sirkeli
- 2 Hemite
- 3 Fraktin
- 4 İmamkulu
- 5 Taşçı
- 6 Hanyeri
- 7 Yazılıkaya
- 8 Gâvurkalesi
- 9 İlgin
- 10 Eflâatun Pınar
- 11 İvriz
- 12 Karabel

Pınar and Fasıllar) to the Kuwaliya region of Arzawa.

With all the argument that surrounds this question it is safe to say at least that Arzawa was a major power on the western seaboard, with influence or vassal states inland. What is important is the likelihood of religious correspondences in the different regions of Bronze Age Anatolia. The similarities of religious iconography in the widely scattered areas of Anatolia suggest they did exist.

Moving east, Gâvurkalesi lies nearer to the centre of Hittite power, in the area which was later to be the Phrygian centre. It is iconographically and structurally Hittite and, although it is interpreted as a royal tomb, it cannot have been designed for an immediate member of the royal family, but rather a petty king.

It is now widely accepted that the language of the hieroglyphic inscriptions in Luwian (12). This is of interest considering the distribution of hieroglyphic monuments in the Seyhan-Ceyhan region - an area of Hittite domination. It may be that the art of rock-carving was a Luwian development rather than Hittite, as has been supposed. (We have seen that other monuments are in Luwian areas.) The most important point in this context is that the Luwians and Hittites seem to have shared in their religion. (A Luwian god is even stated as the father of the ^DU of Nerik in a major text [13].) As we shall see (14), there is evidence for some correspondence between Hittite and Palaic myth. All this leads us to feel that the indigenous religious beliefs were very strong and pervasive, and were adopted and maintained by the various groups of Indo-European speakers.

Now let us look in detail at the religious remains that Anatolia provides for us, and see what conclusions they suggest about Hittite religious thought, and in particular the ^DU.

ARCHITECTURE

As already stated, there are very few remains of religious architecture in Hittite Anatolia, and no direct antecedents. Our earliest evidence for religious buildings comes from the Neolithic site of Çatal Hüyük and Bronze Age Beycesultan. Both these sites are removed in time and/or place from our period, and, fascinating though they are, we can only use them to help deduce what might be streams of Anatolian thought.

The site of Çatal Hüyük, excavated by James Mellaart (15), revealed an extraordinarily rich amount of information about the religion of its people. This was contained in the shrines, their equipment and their wall-paintings.

The shrines themselves conformed in their building plan to the normal dwelling houses, but the walls and benches had painted and plastic decoration apparently heavy with religious significance.

For our purposes it is important to note the use of bulls' heads and horns in the cult. Despite the theories of Leroi-Gaming (16) that woman and bison can be linked in opposition to man and horse one prefers to follow the more usual assumption that bulls represent the male principle, symbol of potency and fertilisation.

The heads are found plastered and fixed into the walls (rams' heads are also found but these have no significance in later Hittite religion) and the benches could be decorated with rows of horns in a most striking manner. Single pillars with one set of horns could also appear. The other aspect of Çatal Hüyük religion (possibly at that time of more importance) was the worship of the female principle - seen in wall paintings, such as the pregnant woman (with enlarged navel indicating here condition) and statuettes, including the well-known lady of 'Venus' build giving birth. The figures of Çatal and Hacilar (a later Neolithic site) depict matronly women, often with children. These are the earliest signs of the typical Anatolian 'Great Mother'. In association, however, we find the worship of the male. It is my contention that, although the goddess played a vital role in the religion of Anatolia, it was not at the expense of the god. The Sun-goddess of Arinna was the protectress of the state, but the U was the protector. Here, at Çatal Hüyük, the earliest settled site in Anatolia, we find male and female. The male is a bull (and was never represented in human form).

Beycesultan (17, 18) contains a wealth of archaeological evidence for religious activity in the city. We

find a series of shrines with certain outstanding features. They contain horned stelai which have been the subject of speculation. They have frequently been compared with the Minoan 'horns of consecration'. It would seem suitable to see in these stelai an abstract representation of the bull (19), or male principle. This is, however, not a safe assumption, especially in view of the fact that there are no other representations of bulls which are abstract, at this period or later, in Anatolia (other stelai are quite different in shape). We may be confident, nonetheless, that horns were from earliest times symbols at least of consecration, or divinity - probably always male. Perhaps this originated in the wearing of animal skins and heads by holy men. The horns themselves came to be *theos*.

The Beycesultan shrines have other features besides the horns. Some of the shrines are found with pillars, and others with what have been interpreted as blood-altars. Taken by themselves, these symbols are open to much speculation, but what is significant is that they are never found together, and that twin shrines are also typical.

Perhaps we can see here another example of sexual polarisation in Anatolian religion, the twin shrines representing a shrine each to male and female. Lloyd and Mellaart, the excavators, suggest that the pillar represents the male, and the shrines containing 'mother-goddess' (i.e. fiddle-shaped) figurines (20) the female. Pillars are generally male, although if we consider that a tree-cult (21) (such as we find in Minoan religion) is implied, then we do find female deities associated with trees. I tend to discard this idea of lack of evidence for such a cult, either here or elsewhere in contemporary Anatolia. The blood-altars may suggest that the deity (of the shrines containing the fiddle-shaped figurines) ruled the underworld and required offerings of blood, but such sacrifices have never been entirely the prerogative of the gods of darkness. The theory of twin male/female shrines is appealing. Yakar (22) goes so far as to suggest that the stelai represent a divine couple, therefore the twin shrines represent either two different couples, or different aspects of the same couple. There is little evidence elsewhere in Anatolia for such a divine couple but EB III spearheads (burial gifts) have been found at İkittepe showing a male and female either side under a sun disc. According to Alkim 'they were obviously used in ceremonies' (23).

Nonetheless, we have at this site what seems to be definite evidence for the equal worship of male and female.

How far does this take us in the search for the identity (or identities) of the ^DU? In truth not far at all, except to say that bulls and a male deity of some sort were venerated from the earliest times. It is probably safe to assume that this deity was in some way connected with fertility of animal, plant and, to a lesser extent, human (24), as this must inevitably be the preoccupation of any primitive culture, and form a foundation for much future religious

development. We can only argue back from later sources, and this may be misleading.

It has, however, been necessary to survey very briefly the little evidence we have for earlier Anatolian religious architecture. It does not offer much assistance, and throughout the area of Hattic Anatolia there are no recognisable temple buildings or shrines.

Perhaps this very lack of evidence is its own explanation. We shall return to this point.

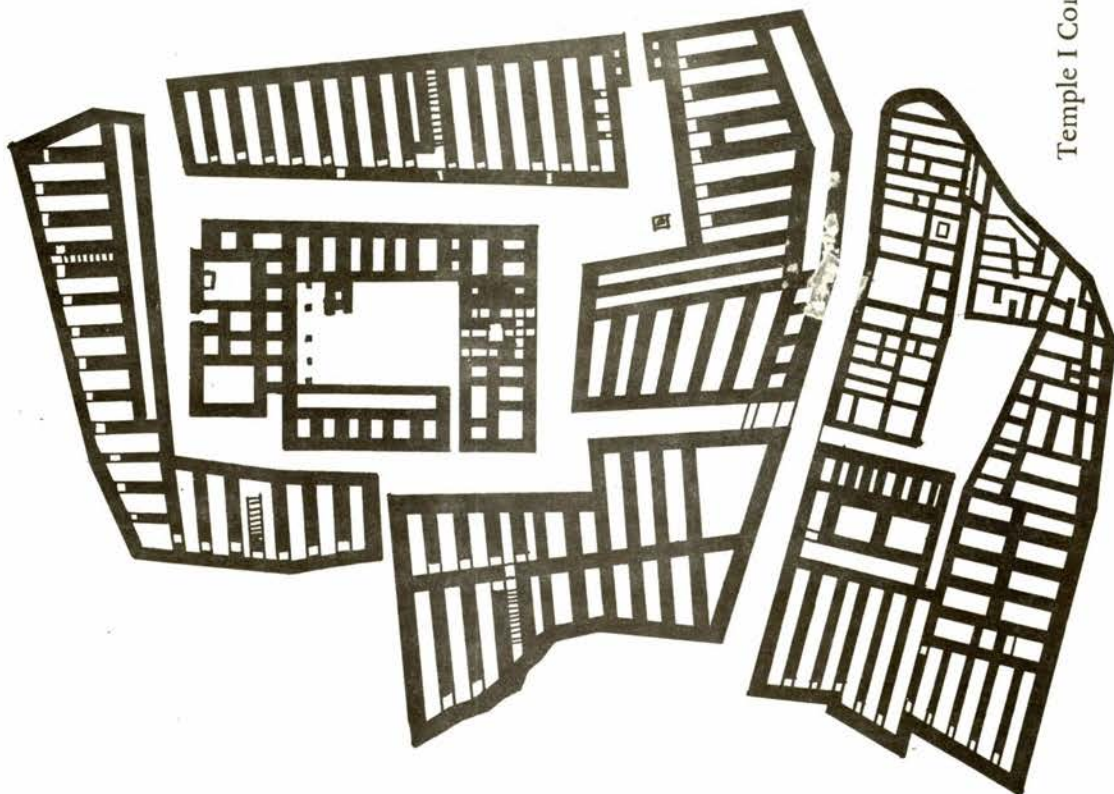
Hittite temples - what few there are - all conform to the same distinctive plan. There is an elaborate entrance, usually on the axis of the court, a large central courtyard, which is bounded by corridors and finally the important cult rooms and the adyton itself are offset, and not immediately visible or accessible from the court (see Fig. 4). Within the court there may be (Temples I and V, Yazılıkaya) a small chamber, most probably used for the ritual washing which plays an important role in many ceremonies.

The other notable feature of the adyton is that, although it is not directly visible from the temple interior, it has large windows on three sides, so designed that the cult statue is always open to the light.

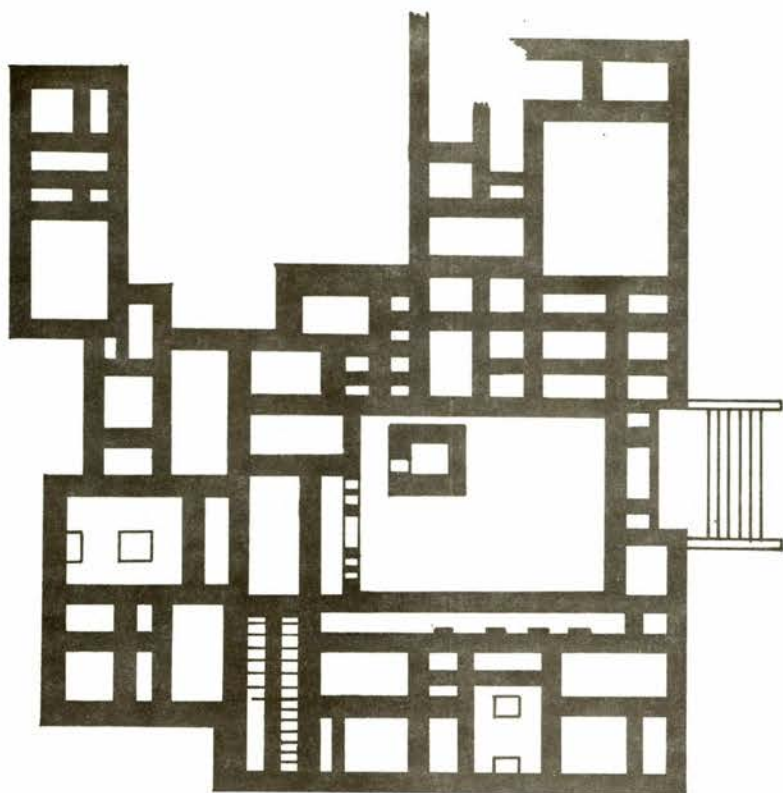
The interpretation of the various components of the temple is relatively easy, the plan of the gateway with rooms for guards on either side, the court and the special cult-rooms can all be traced in the texts (25, 26, 27). The many rooms around the court were necessary for the army of temple servants (28). In the (supposed) temple of Tarsus (see Fig. 5), although it has not been fully excavated, evidence has been found of the sort of use to which such chambers would have been put (29). Rooms T₁₀ to T₁₂ must have been used for bronze work: a crucible was found, and dumps of slag. In T₁₁ a jewellers' mould was discovered. If this is indeed a temple then these rooms provide us with our only tangible record of the craftsmen who spent their lives working in the service of their gods.

Also at Tarsus a room was discovered (T₁) which the excavator interprets as a bathroom, with an outside drain. There is textual proof that the deity was from time to time bathed and anointed (30), just as servants would bathe and anoint a human master (indeed to the Hittites the relationship between man and god was seen as analogous to the relationship between servant and master).

At Tarsus are the only remains of this sort - it has to be said, however, that the interpretation of this building as a temple is based on its structural similarity to temples at Hattuša - no evidence for actual cult activity has been found. The temples of Boğazköy and Alaca Hüyük are totally empty. We can, however, assume that the surrounding rooms were indeed used by craftsmen, and for storing food, archives, extra statues of the gods etc. Some rooms must have



Temple I Complex, Hattuša



Temple V, Hattuša

Fig. 4

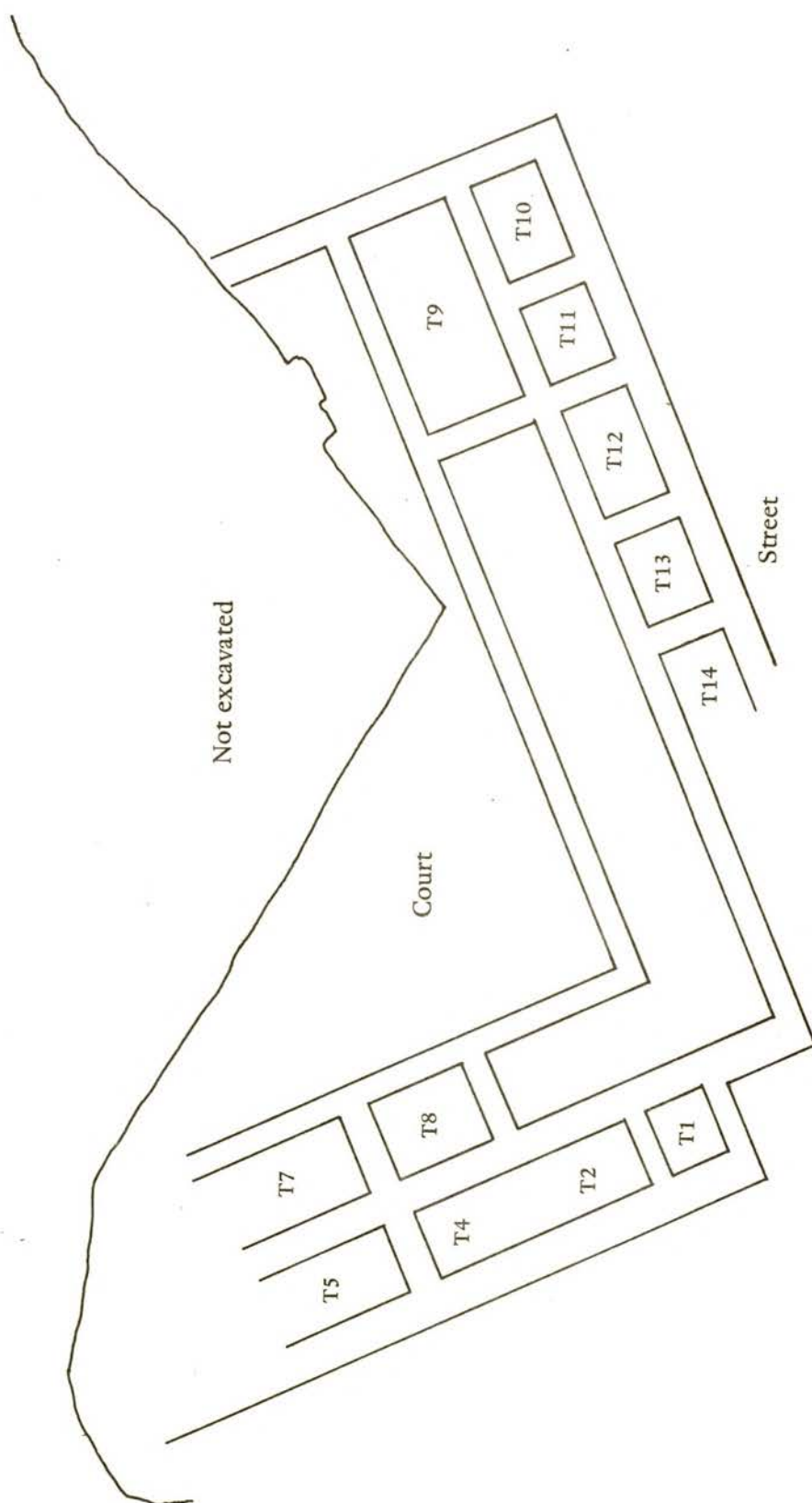


Fig. 5 Ground plan of the supposed Hittite temple at Tarsus

been slept in, both by the priests and, from time to time, by the king and queen. Temple I at Boğazköy is surrounded by large building complexes. A roughly quadrilateral building to the south, with alleys opening off a central court, has been compared with workers' compounds at Kahun, Amarna and Deir-el-Medineh (31).

The holiest, and therefore the most significant part of the temple was the adyton. The peculiarities of the Hittite adyton have been mentioned above. The fact that it is not immediately accessible is obviously important. Access was probably restricted to royalty and the priests, whereas the populace were kept in the court; there are many parallel instances of such a practice. It is relevant, however, that the windows of the adyton faced outwards and that the rooms were bathed in daylight. Perhaps we find a clue here in the one temple that is rather different, that of Yazılıkaya (see Fig. 6). There, the adyton is the rock chamber itself, and the rock chamber was venerated before there was a temple, and indeed before the magnificent reliefs were carved (32).

The earliest structure was simply a wall. It was replaced by a temple which was burned down and replaced in turn by a slightly less elaborate temple (33). The architectural design follows the standard pattern: monumental gate, court with wash-house, offset adyton.

The temple of Yazılıkaya does differ from the others in that it is not at all solidly constructed, and in fact the foundations are on rubble. This implies that it was not frequently used, and Bittel (34) suggests its principal use was in the New Year celebrations.

The rock chambers at Yazılıkaya were always open to the air, and the adyta of the temples in the town are as open as they can be. Surely the people of Hatti had the kind of religion that required them not to shut themselves away in man-made buildings, but to be close to natural things. Religious feeling was concentrated in the countryside, not in temples. It is, I suggest, for this reason that there is such a dearth of religious architecture in Hittite and Hittite Anatolia. It was originally neither needed nor wanted. It is only of relevance to have a temple in connection with the state cult. The textual evidence we have for older and domestic ritual suggests that it not only did not need to be performed in a temple, but that a temple would be a hindrance. The 'laying of paths' rituals for example (35), the throwing of offerings into 'holes' (36 and see below), and many other rituals involving processions to groves, or rivers, belong in the open.

If we accept that the Hittite people were very close to the earth, and that their deities were bound into the countryside, then it is reasonable that their cult should be taken close to the places that matter. In a later period, during the Hittite empire, the cult was rationalised, codified and taken into temples. It is remarkable that so

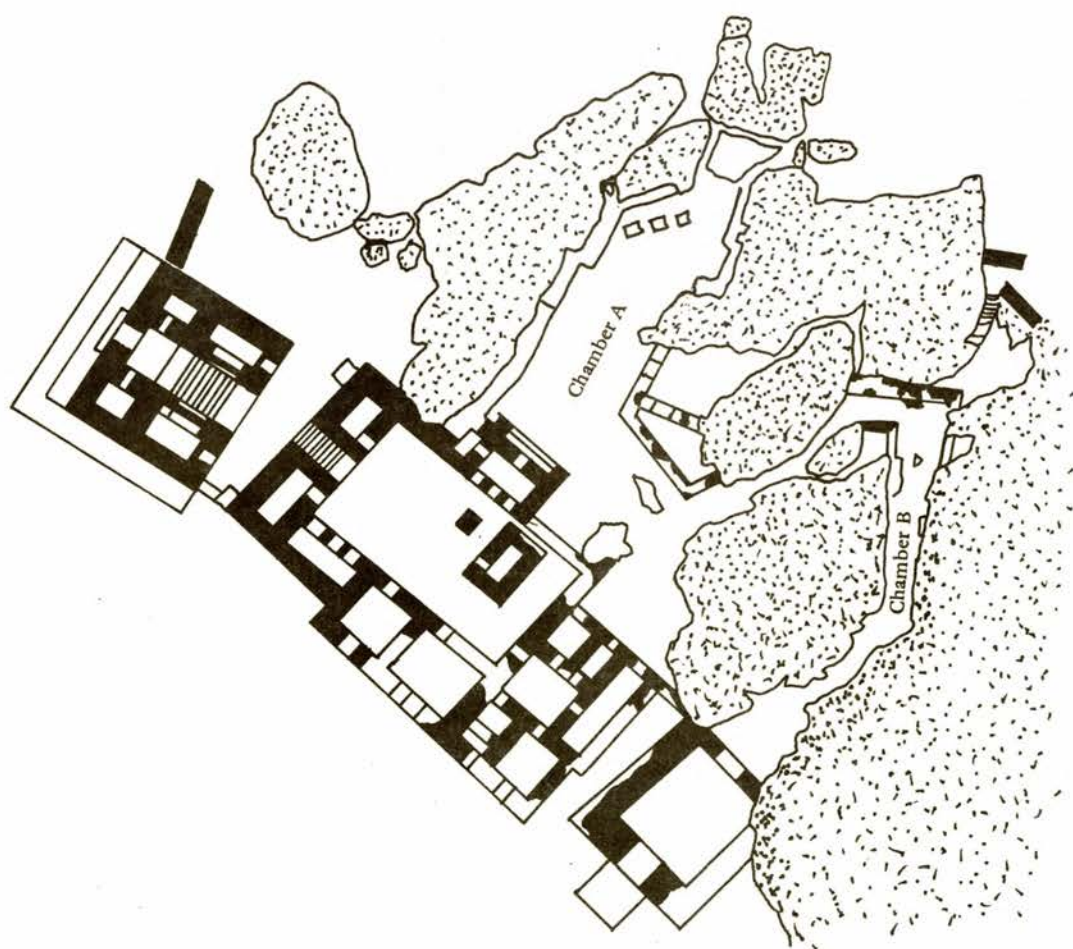


Fig. 6 Yazılıkaya

few have survived from this period, as there is ample textual evidence that they existed. If only we could find and excavate such towns as Nerik perhaps some of our questions could be provided with satisfactory answers.

There are other buildings of cultic application in Boğazköy which are possibly of more interest than the state temples which, for all their grandeur, have little to say about the souls of the people who built them.

There is evidence for more intimate cult practice on Büyükkale. Level IVb produced two small buildings - 'chapels' as Bittel describes them (37). One consists of two parallel rooms with a vestibule and the entrance in the long side. The second is detached, with three to four rooms, although its overall dimensions are much the same as the other. The central room is about 1.30m below ground level, and a conduit leads out from this room. A large painted duck-shaped vessel was found here. Also near this building were found two terracotta bulls. They are complementary (the tails curve towards each other) and are assumed to represent Šeri and Hurri, the two bulls of the Hurrian high god, Tešub.

Building C (see Fig. 7), also on Büyükkale, is a similar structure (38). It had six rooms, five around a central room whose floor is 1.50m below the rest. It was covered in layers of mud and sand, and contained many votive vessels and nests of shells. Here also there was a channel to the outside. According to Bittel this room was open to the sky.

The third small building to be considered here is the underground pool discovered just by Temple I (next to the workers' compound [39, 40, 41]). It is a basin contained under a corbelled vault and approached by a flight of steps. There is an inflow in the back wall, and an outflow under the steps. Over the entrance to the grotto was a carved scene, of which only one figure survives, although there are traces of a second. This is of a man wearing a long robe and a cap, facing left, with his hands in the gesture of adoration - a standard type. There was also a hieroglyphic inscription translated by Güterbock (42):

'Der Quellgottheit X hat König Y (oder der König der Stadt Z) (dieses) gegeben und aufgestellt.'

The grotto is very small and unlikely to have had a practical function. The implications of this little sanctuary are most interesting - the Anatolian concern with underground water supply is here given stylised expression.

It seems probable that the 'chapels' with sunken rooms and drains mentioned above were also connected with water (43), and the fact that they were at quite a considerable level lower than their surroundings is significant. It seems that in these smaller shrines and sanctuaries we are nearer than anywhere else in the cities to the heart of Hattic/Hittite religion.

The *ḫateššar*, or hole, is frequently mentioned (44).

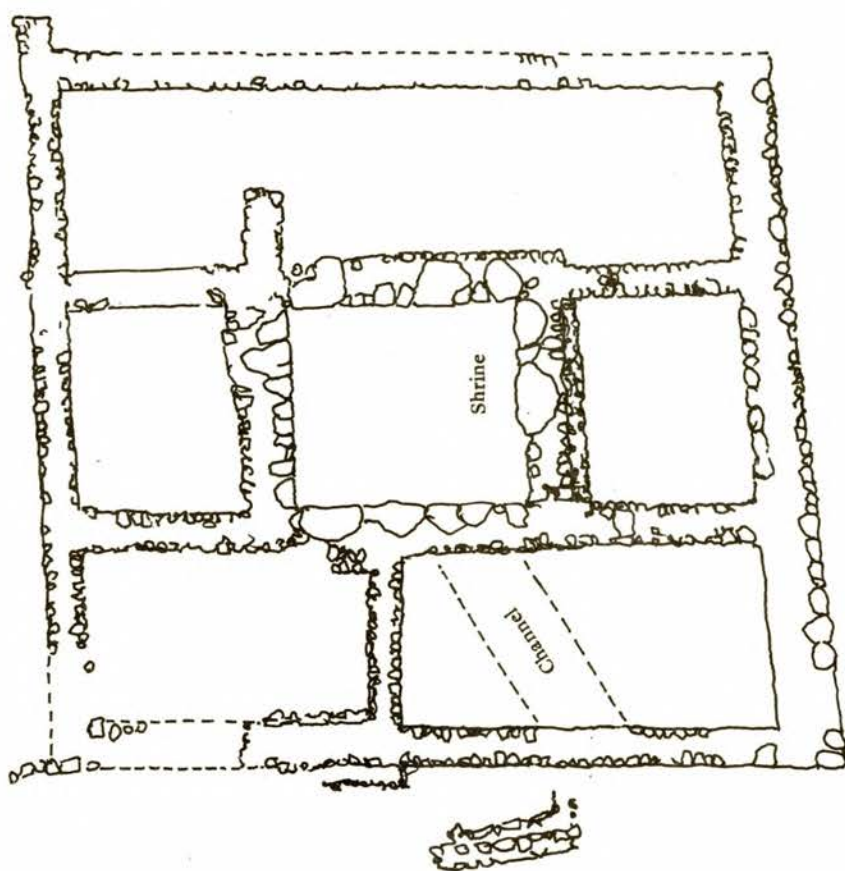


Fig. 7 Building C on Büyükkale

Offerings were thrown into 'holes'; gods disappear down 'holes'; Macqueen suggests very persuasively that the 'solar discs' of Alaca Hüyük (see below) in fact represent 'holes'. Surely these assorted sunken chambers are stylised holes? Most probably in the country natural caves and hollows would be used (leaving, of course, no trace), but in the city they had to be constructed. Ussishkin (45) has studied small depressions ('cup-marks') connected with monuments including Fraktin, Sirkeli and Yazılıkaya. He suggests that the depressions at the first two sites were for libations as part of the ritual of the water-shrines and at Yazılıkaya the rites were funerary (he compares these with similar cup-marks at the Hittite cemetery at Osmanakaya, and similar marks have been found elsewhere). Perhaps these marks have a similar function as a stylised form of *ḫateššar*, although if we follow Macqueen (46) in seeing a *ḫateššar* specifically as a hole from which water arises, i.e. a spring, then they would seem to be redundant. We may note here that offerings to the ^DU of Nerik were thrown into a *ḫateššar*, and he can be proven to be a god of water and the underworld (47).

In these small shrines we may learn more of the truth about the gods and their worship. They bear no relation to the large state temples just as the homely, almost magical rituals of the individual bear no relation to the ceremonies of the state cult.

It is only in the buildings just described that we can find any architectural evidence of use in our quest. These interpretations help to disprove the theory of a Hittite 'Weather-god'. Adad, Ba'al and Zeus never lived in holes in the ground, and were not worshipped underground. The bulls found near Building C do suggest a connection with the ^DU with whom Tešub, whose creatures they are, was syncretised. (The ^DU was worshipped in the form of a (single) bull.)

This brief survey of Anatolian temple architecture may seem fragmentary - and this reflects the nature of the evidence. One can hope merely to present what is there and draw whatever conclusions may seem useful from the relevant areas. In the particular case of the study of the ^DU there is very little that is relevant, but if one accepts that the cults of the Anatolians were essentially bound up with natural phenomena, water, mountains etc., and not to be confined within temple walls, then this is to be expected.

THE 'SOLAR DISCS' OF ALACA HÜYÜK

Among the remarkable finds in the Early Bronze Age 'royal tombs' of Alaca Hüyük (48, 49) were the standard heads, composed of discs and animals (50). These have been much published, both as evidence of religious ideas and as works of art.

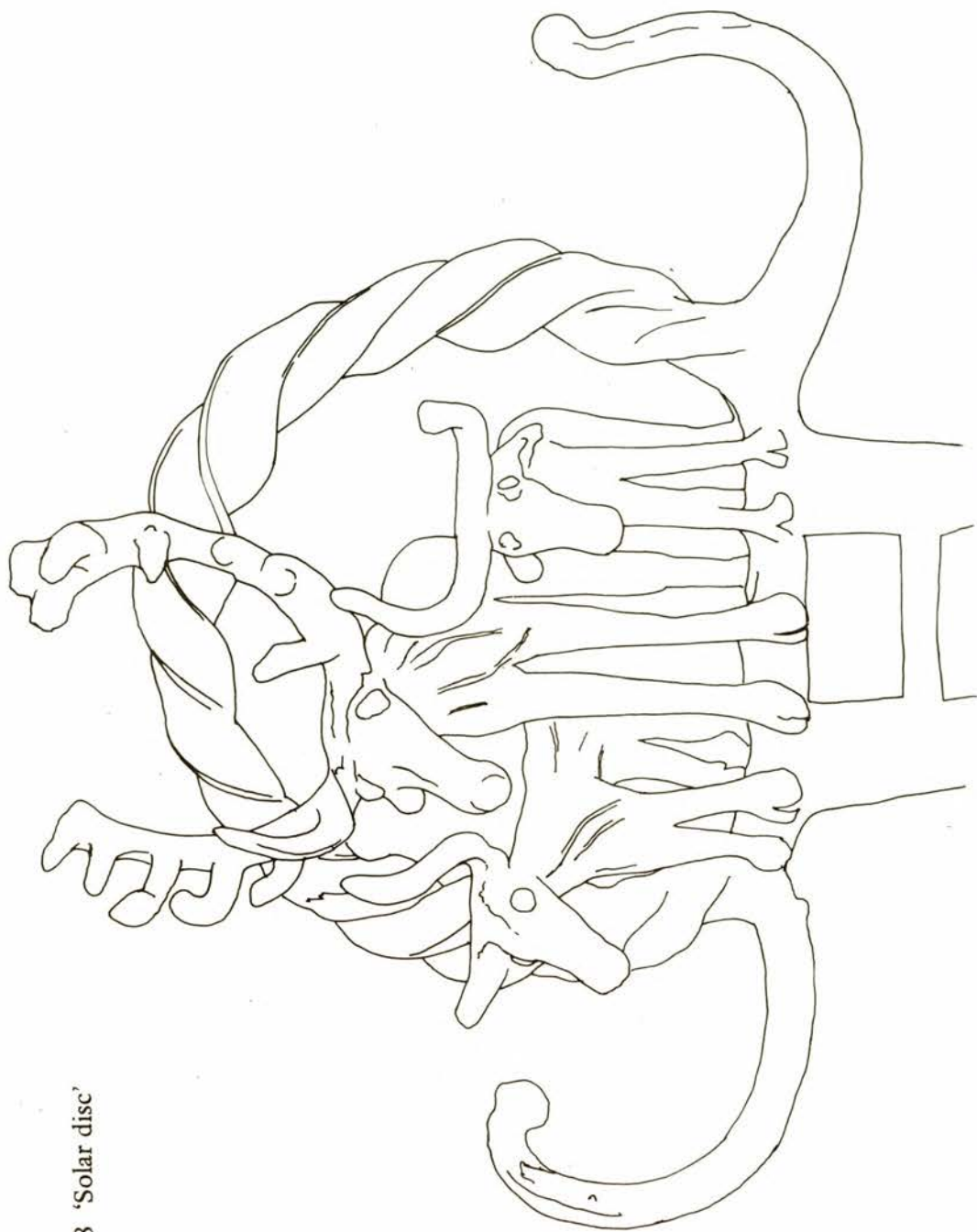
The first and least complicated idea to discuss is that the animal standards represent a theriomorphic world view (51, an interpretation followed by Haas for the later period (52). It is noteworthy that the god in Çatal Hüyük was only ever represented in the form of a bull, and iconographically in the Hittite period the god could be represented as a bull. He is not, however, so described in the texts - the metaphor is purely visual.

The animals on the standards are generally bulls and stags (53), sometimes solo with extensions to their feet moulded back into one pole, sometimes emerging from the circles (see Fig. 8).

Most commentators have accepted the original interpretation of these discs as representations of the sun. This is, however, not in tune with what we know of later religion, and it seems reasonable to argue back in this instance. Macqueen's interpretation makes more sense in view of the general background of Anatolian religion (54). The Sun-god is a relatively minor deity and even he can come out of the sea. The major deities are chthonic or water gods. The bull is the symbol of the ^DU who may retire into a hole or a river (55). In Anatolia, which is largely limestone with volcanic intrusions, as we have seen, water comes out of the earth, caves and wells. It follows, and follows very neatly, that we have here a representation of the god emerging from his lair, the water from the earth. Any solar interpretation, although superficially tempting, makes no sense in the particular context of Hattic religion, and requires such elaborate conceptions as Akurgal's description of the flowers round the edge of a circle 'reaching towards the sky' (56). It is surely easier to imagine flowers growing out of the earth. The other seems rather alien to the Hattic/Hittite peoples. They did not turn their eyes heavenward.

Again we come back to the point that the god was linked with the earth, with caves, wells, springs. The last remaining area of Hittite religious archaeology will reinforce the connection of religious monuments with water, although yet again more questions will be posed than are able to be answered.

Fig. 8 'Solar disc'



A particularly fine example of a 'solar disc' showing stag, bulls and bull horn extensions

THE PICTORIAL EVIDENCE

There are two types of source for this: on the one hand the rock carvings found scattered across Anatolia (although concentrated in the south-east), and on the other orthostat reliefs such as those from Alaca Hüyük (57) and Malatya (58).

These two cities and their reliefs are widely different in place and style. The reliefs which decorate their gateways are well known and have been widely published. (There is also a representation of Tešub at the Water-gate at Carchemish [59]. It is very worn indeed, but shows a horned god raising a weapon, and a bull [possibly two - Šeri and Hurri?]. This is late in period and pronounced Syrian influence can be seen.)

The two scenes of interest at Alaca Hüyük are, firstly, a representation of the king and queen worshipping at an altar (of distinctive shape with tapering base and a large rectangular top) behind which appears a bull - presumably the ^DU (60, see Fig. 9). The second shows a figure, probably of a king (he wears the typical long robe, round cap and earring) worshipping before a seated figure with peaked, horned hat. He is designated by the hieroglyphic sign for the ^DU (61). The other reliefs, although fascinating from the point of view of artistic and social history are not useful here. The obvious implication of these sculptures is the importance of the ^DU in the state cult; he is worshipped by the royalty in the functions of chief priest and priestess of the state. It is unusual to see the ^DU seated; he is generally standing, on his own, on mountain gods or a bull, or riding in his bull chariot.

From Malatya comes a series of well-preserved reliefs of the late Hittite period depicting King Šulumeli pouring libations to various gods, including the ^DU (almost certainly Tešub in this area and at this period - he is identified by the standard hieroglyphic sign), and also the sole surviving (that we can recognise) illustration of a Hittite myth. It is perhaps surprising that the myth in question should be a Hattic one: the slaying of Illuyanka (see Fig. 10). It is, however, a good story and one could expect that it should last through the centuries. One need only consider the hold on the popular imagination of the Greek myths, King Arthur or Robin Hood to appreciate this. Nonetheless, this narrative relief of a myth is quite different from the normal style of Hittite religious art, which generally followed a standard pattern.

The scene shows the god in the usual Hittite godly attire - kilt, curved sword, horned hat and up-turned shoes -



Fig. 9 Bas relief from Alaca Hüyük

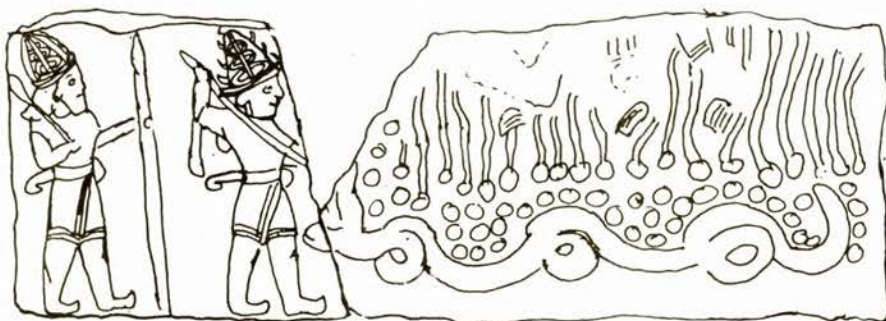


Fig. 10 Bas relief from Malatya

striking the gaping serpent which writhes furiously. Behind the ^DU is another god, usually assumed to be his son, but as his son was with Illuyanka when he was killed one might see rather his brother, or one of the other gods who came to help when the danger was over - a not uncommon practice. Above the serpent are round balls and streamers coming down. This is assumed to represent hail (62), or weapons, or flames coming from the dragon's body (63), but perhaps, as in one version of the myth Illuyanka lives in the sea (64), we may rather see pebbles, and a stylised representation of water. Be that as it may, this lively scene is easy to identify and remarkable for its highly unusual content.

The second relief depicts King Šulumeli in the act of pouring a libation to the ^DU, while behind him a smaller figure holds a bull, presumably for sacrifice. The ^DU is shown twice, once mounting his chariot drawn by two bulls and secondly receiving the offerings. Both figures are dressed alike in kilt, pointed shoes, high hat with horns and hieroglyphic god-determinatives, carrying a carved sword with crescent-shaped pommel, bearded, with a long pigtail, and raising in the right hand what appears to be a boomerang. All these are normal except that the weapon is usually more recognisable as a ^Dmace, or some such implement. A large hieroglyphic ^DW (the hieroglyphic sign for the god represented in cuneiform as ^DU/IM) is carved between the figures.

Hittite religious imagery was not imaginative. Certain standard types of scene are repeated time and time again and, sadly, are so formalised that there is little we can gain from them. The wealth of meaning which must have lain behind the monuments which have been discussed and which will be discussed below was so alive to those who produced them that they did not require any explanatory notes. Just as western religious imagery has certain 'shorthand' artistic symbols which are soaked in meaning for us, so it must have been for the Hittites with these monuments - they never thought to leave behind a key. Perhaps, nonetheless, some useful points may emerge.

Before going into the particular subject of rock reliefs, it might be as well to discuss certain monuments of unique character: the spring sanctuary of Eflâtun Pınar (Plato's Spring) and the chamber tomb at Gâvurkalesi (the Castle of the Infidels).

Eflâtun Pınar stands by a spring near a river that flows into Beyşehir Gölü. The spring was dammed in antiquity (65) to form a pool 30 x 35m. It consists now of a large platform of ashlar masonry faced with trachyte. There is a sculpted façade right on the water's edge and traces of some superstructure.

The reliefs which survive *in situ* depict a god in a high hat and a goddess with a 'halo' surmounted by two winged sun-discs (the symbol of royalty) and surrounded by six little figures with upraised hands, and two larger

figures at either end. Almost certainly the raised hands signify adoration. These reliefs are unique in that they face forward, rather than following the convention (general in the Near East) of being in profile.

Laroche (66) suggests that the male figure represents a mountain god, and the female a spring goddess. He is followed by Akurgal (67) who considers that the reliefs represent the three elements of fertility: earth (the god), water (the goddess), sun (the discs). He is surely correct in suggesting that these are fertility symbols but they should be switched round. From what we know of indigenous Anatolian religion we can rather see that it is the goddess who represents the earth, and the god who represents water (68). The sun-discs probably represent the royal author of the work.

Mellaart contrasts the indigenous conception of 'water-from-the-earth' with the Indo-European idea of 'water-from-the-sky' (69). While one agrees that the former is certainly the characteristic of Anatolia (70), it cannot be laid down that the latter is necessarily Indo-European. One cannot accept that it was an Indo-European pantheon that took over in Anatolia - so far from that, the foreign influences that can be discerned are Hurrian and ultimately Mesopotamian.

Mellaart has, however, made one very interesting contribution to the study of this monument, in suggesting that the great trachyte statue of a god (the only surviving example of Anatolian sculpture-in-the-round) found at Fasillar should be mounted above the platform, with a matching goddess. The statue is in the same stone as the facing on Eflâtun Pinar, and the figure is similar to the surviving male on the façade, with high hat and upraised hand. He stands on a mountain god and this is diagnostic of a ^DU. This suggestion is very appealing (71).

There remains the question of locality, as we have seen. In which kingdom did Eflâtun Pinar lie? Lloyd suggests Aššuwa; Mellaart, the Kuwaliya region of Arzawa. The important point is that it was not in the Hittite area (see above) but bears every evidence of following in the same religious traditions.

It is convenient to note here the humble spring sanctuary at Ilgın excavated by Temizer (72). Ilgın lies much nearer to Eflâtun Pinar than to Boğazköy, and may also have been within the sphere of influence of Arzawa. It consists simply of a rectangular basin at a spring at the foot of a hill, with a hieroglyphic inscription and the cartouche of Tudhaliya IV. It has not been fully published.

The second unusual monument is the so-called royal grave at Gâvurkalesi. It is situated 60 kilometres south-west of Ankara outside the curve of the Halys. It consists of a large platform (35 x 37m) with cyclopean masonry over a burial chamber, long since robbed. The platform has traces of structures (cf. Eflâtun Pinar), but all Hittite

structures, which may have included some religious buildings and priests' houses (73) have been destroyed.

On the natural rock wall exactly opposite the entrance to the burial chamber are carved two standing male figures facing a seated goddess. The first god has six horns in his hat, and the second has three, the goddess wears a flattened cone-shaped hat (74). Probably this represents the ^DU, with one of his sons and the Sun-goddess of Arinna, in which case the chthonic connections of the ^DU are solidly reinforced. Zeus and Ba'al are not gods of rock chambers or death. There is no evidence elsewhere that the ^DU had particular care for the dead, but he was most certainly connected with holes in the ground. Perhaps the Sun-goddess of Arinna (Wurušemu, the goddess of the underworld) attended to the mortuary cult which is assumed to have been practised here, together with the sort of rites for the ^DU that we have discussed above.

There are only two places where such cults can be postulated: in Chamber B at Yazılıkaya, and here. They do not appear to have been significant in Hittite religion, although the king was deified at death. Perhaps Gâvurkalesi is the attempt of a local monarch to keep up with the great king. It certainly lies within the Hittite area proper, and is the only standing example of the 'stone-houses' which are referred to in the texts (75).

We come at last to the rock reliefs which can be found from Smyrna to the Ceyhan, although concentrated in two distinct and widely separated areas.

In the west are the carvings of Karabel and Mt. Sipylus, which were known to the Greeks. Pausanias (III xii 4) describes the carving on Mt. Sipylus as 'Niobe', and Karabel was mentioned by Herodotus (76).

The figure on Mt. Sipylus is a huge woman, which is unique in single figure reliefs, wearing a 'city crown' similar to that of the high goddess at Yazılıkaya (77). Guterbock suggests (78) that it marks a spring sanctuary and in this he is backed by Mellaart (79) who points out that its position above a pool near a stream is very similar to that of Eflâton Pınar, and in the same style as that monument and Karabel.

This last (also known as Kemal Paşa) has one principal relief and two smaller ones in an adjoining glen. The largest relief (A) has been suggested as a victory monument of Tudḫaliya IV (80), or as a religious monument set up by the local monarch (81), which latter interpretation most modern commentators would accept. It was situated in the BIRD-wa lands, according to its inscription (82), which suggests either Arzawa or Aššuwā. We may feel Arzawa is more likely. The figure is of a standing man, attired in the usual godly manner, facing left. The right-hand side was the important side for the Hittites, in common with most other cultures. The god is anonymous, although one might suggest that a ^DU might be appropriate. The smaller

inscriptions may name a known Luwian prince (83).

The second cluster of monuments is at the opposite end of Turkey. Four: Fraktin, İmamkulu, Taşcı and Hanyeri are very close to one another on the Seyhan river, and Sirkeli and Hemite are on the Ceyhan.

As usual, whatever the reliefs actually depict, they are almost invariably found in close association with water. In the case of Taşcı the reliefs are so close that the lower ones are actually washed by the water.

Sirkeli has the distinction of being the earliest depiction of a Hittite great king. It represents Muwatalli (1315 - 1282). Mellaart includes it in his list of spring sanctuaries (84).

Hanyeri shows a Hittite prince worshipping two mountain gods (85). It must be remembered that mountains are a source of water, that they are intimately connected with the ^DU, and may even have similar functions (e.g. Zalianu at *purulli*).

The relief of İmamkulu gives another example of this connection. In this complex relief the god, identified by the inscription (86) as the ^DU of Heaven, drives his bull chariot across deified mountains to meet a flying goddess. The meaning of this scene is unknown, and the goddess is not identified. She is a totally alien type. Standing behind the god is a figure, possibly Muwatalli (87), but the hieroglyphics are not sufficiently clear to allow a certain interpretation.

The lengthy relief of Fraktin represents Hattušili III and Puduhepa making offerings to the ^DU (at this time and in this company the ^DU here probably = Tešub) and Hebat respectively. The monument may never have been completed as the male (right-hand) half is finished off, whereas the female half remains in outline. Hittite attitudes to women were surprisingly egalitarian, and it is most unlikely that this has any other significance. One very interesting point about this relief (88) is that Hattušili wears a high horned hat - a sign of premature desire for divinity, or perhaps the monument represents the dead and therefore deified king. The depiction of the king provides a *terminus ante quem* but otherwise there is no way of dating the relief.

Nearby has been found an altar (89), a platform with three steps leading up to a bull with huge horns in half relief. It has been compared to a Phrygian step altar, but this is most unlikely so far out of the area of Phrygian domination. The platform recalls the much larger ones of Eflâton Pınar and Gâvurkalesi (and also the fact that the temples at Boğazköy were either on natural plateaux or artificial platforms), and the presence of the bull is highly suggestive of a connection with the ^DU.

There are two reliefs at Taşcı, about 95m apart (90). The main scene is one of sacrifice, as usual, and can be

dated to the reign of Hattušili III, the smaller one shows the head of a prince - the Hurrian Urḫilina according to Steinherr, or Urḫi-Tešub according to Alp (91).

The later (eighth century) rock relief at İvriz shows a continuity of artistic expression, although many features betray heavy Aramaean influence. In this relief King Warpalawaš pays homage to a 'god of plenty' (92), identified by the sign of the ^DU, who here receives the king's harvest offerings (93). The god is still clad in a kilt, up-turned shoes and a horned hat, although the arrangement of the horns is somewhat different. A second relief has been found at İvriz (94). An attendant leads an animal - possibly a bull - he grasps what looks like a horn. The suggestion appears to be of an animal sacrifice. Compare the sacrifice of a sheep into the *ḫateššar* in KUB XXXVI 89. Bier finds this a suitable place for the ritual to effect the return of a disappearing god, and in his evidence quotes other rituals involving sacrifices into holes by springs (95).

The standard image is found on numerous stelai even as far afield as Babylon. The god faces left, and wields aloft three-pronged lightning (or a water symbol, which would be more in character for the indigenous god) and another weapon, usually a club.

The great sanctuary of Yazılıkaya (96) has been left till last. It is the only rock monument in the centre of the Hittite area, and is certainly the most striking and accomplished of all. Unfortunately, it is not very helpful. The reliefs depict a procession of deities, gods on the right and goddesses on the left, marching up to a meeting of the high god and goddess, which has no textual explanation at all. The iconography is Hittite, but the names are Hurrian as may have been the motive force for the last phase. This can be accepted to be the work of Tudḫaliya IV, who would have been brought up in the Hurrian religion by his mother, Puduḫepa, a priestess of Ḫebat.

The centre-piece, the meeting of Tešub and Ḫebat, is a masterly composition - at the expense of theological accuracy (see Fig. 11). For the sake of good antithetical arrangement a bull is placed behind Ḫebat, although she has no connection with bulls. Tešub is dressed and armed as usual, and he has six horns on his hat and hieroglyphic 'god' signs within it. Above his outstretched left hand is inscribed a sign which could be interpreted as ^DU of Heaven/Hatti, but must in this context be Tešub. He stands on the back of two mountain gods and is accompanied by his bulls, Šeri and Ḫurri (whose names are Hurrian for Day and Night), one behind him and one behind Ḫebat. She stands on a feline, the creature of the great goddess of this part of the world from earliest times. She is followed by their son, Šarruma, who was syncretised with the ^DU of Nerik (see last chapter). He also stands on a feline. Tešub is followed by the ^DU of Hattuša (97), a lesser deity, as his hat decoration shows. He is clothed and armed in the usual manner.

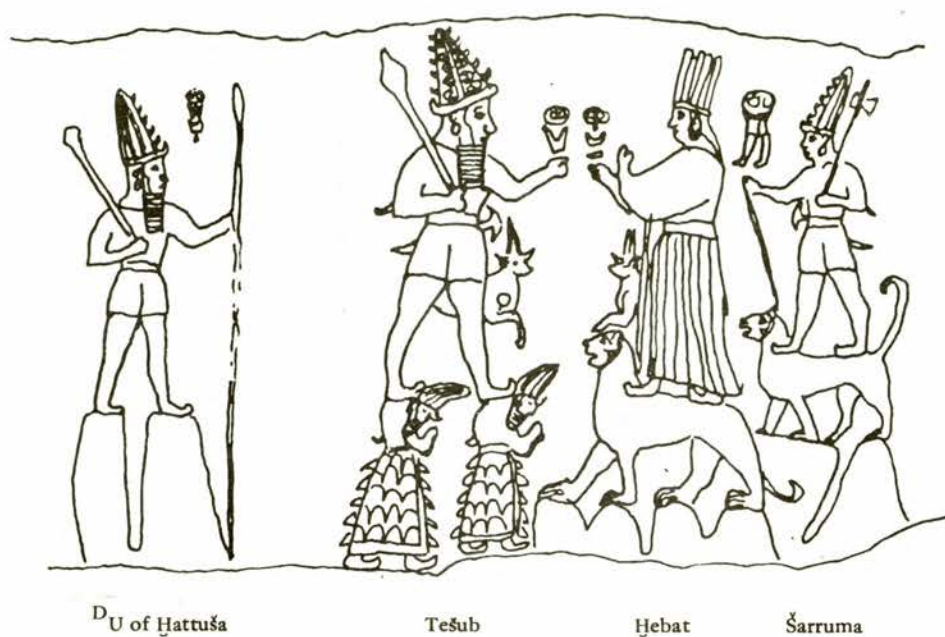


Fig. 11 The centre group from Yazılıkaya



Fig. 12 Cylinder Seal from Kültepe

'Weather-god' standing on mountains and bull, holding plant stems, surrounded by animals and 'bull-man'.

Bittel (98) suggests that the sanctuary was used for a special purpose and not regularly, because of its somewhat careless construction. He suggests the purpose may have been the spring festival. Other scholars have seen Yazılıkaya as the object of a procession in association with a seasonal festival comparable with the Babylonian *akitu* (99). Gurney, however, in describing a festival procession (100) notes its similarity to the procession to the *akitu*-house but states 'the resemblance is probably fortuitous'. It seems, however, not unlikely that some such festival should have been held at Yazılıkaya. Falkenstein (101) has listed characteristics of the *akitu*-festival which seem very plausible as the sort of thing we might expect at Yazılıkaya.

All this tells us little about the god or gods that we seek. At Yazılıkaya, for all its wealth of material, we can perhaps gather more from the frame than the picture, as discussed above. It was a sanctuary before the walls were carved, and it must have been the combination of the dramatic nature of the cleft rocks and the stream running nearby that drew people to regard it as a holy place.

What have we then? A potent combination of rock and water, a concern with underground water-sources. Certain places were considered sufficiently important to require rock carvings dedicated either by the great king or the local monarch, and we can usually, although not always, find the DU associated with these places. We cannot know precisely why one place and not another was chosen to be sanctified, or what the authors of the monuments hoped to achieve by making these offerings. The religious impulse must have been very strong, for these monuments cannot have been very easy to carve, set as they are on mountain sides, or very close indeed to the river bank. Possibly they mark the location of some incident real or mythological of which we have no record.

Carter (102) has suggested that these monuments are *ḫuwašis*. Not all his evidence is convincing. He bases his argument partly on linguistic evidence (the equation of the hieroglyphic *wanai*- and cuneiform *ḫuwaši* suggested by Bossert [103]) which has not gained universal acceptance. One major objection is surely the large number of these objects that must have been in existence - which is obvious not least from the inventories collected by Carter himself. By comparison there are few monuments, and nothing similar within the curve of the Halys. A smaller stone cult object seems a more likely interpretation. It was possible on at least one occasion for the *ḫuwaši* to be of silver (104) and this must have been quite small. Carter does, however, quote evidence that a *ḫuwaši* could be entered (105), so a wider meaning cannot altogether be ruled out.

In sum, we can at least say that the religion of the Hattic and Hittite peoples, and their contemporaries in Anatolia, was bound into the stone and water of their country.

MINOR ARTS

On seals of the great kings (106) we see that the kings come under the protection of the ^DU, e.g. Muwatalli is seen under the protection of GAL ^DU.AN (107); Hattušili is described as beloved of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, the ^DU of Nerik, and Ištar of Šamuha (108). At Tarsus (109) we find similar inscriptions on seals: a king with Tarhu (110) as an element of his name, is linked with ^DW. Apart from showing the (predictable) protective function of the god towards the king and state these seals tell us little else.

There is, however, a group of seals of a much earlier period which is of great interest. These are the cylinder seals from Kültepe published by Nimet Özgüç (111). Some show scenes that are obviously Babylonian, and it is probable that even the scenes of local inspiration were under Mesopotamian influence. Nevertheless we are able to find some striking features.

Özgüç classifies the 'Weather-gods' into eight different types, five of which are of note here: the god standing on mountains, prefiguring the iconography of the Empire period, particularly the High God at Yazılıkaya (see Fig. 12); the god standing on hybrid bull-men, which prefigures İmamkulu; the god on the bull (in several variations); the nude hero with streams standing on a bull, and the bull by himself.

The consistency of Anatolian iconography is remarkable. The artistic style of these seals is really quite different from later Hittite art, but the same types and groups appear. The one different type is the 'nude hero with streams'. He does not appear in the later period, but must surely be a ^DU of a particularly overtly aquatic nature. The connection of these gods with water is quite explicit, fish, snakes and striations representing rain appear frequently.

According to Özgüç (112): 'What the native cylinder seals of the early second millenium tell us about the role of the Weather-gods in the religious beliefs of Anatolia closely parallels what we know about the Hittite Empire period. A minor difference is that the connection of the Weather-gods with rain and water is brought out more clearly in the Colony Period.'

A minor difference? Surely it is rather the whole point. At this period art was crude and free, the extreme stylisation of the Hittite empire period was yet to come. Religion may have been tainted by Babylon, but not yet by the Hurrians, and indigenous Hattic beliefs would be nearer

to the surface then than later. The kinds of 'Weather-god' appearing in these seals are just what one might expect.

Hittite statuettes conform to the same stylistic conventions as the rock sculptures. There are none which can be identified positively as a ^DU, although the god-type, in kilt and high hat appears regularly.

The Hittites were not noted for their artistic genius, and they have left few such remains behind them. We know that cult statues and objects of precious metals were made, but none have survived.

CONCLUSIONS

What conclusions may we draw then from the scant archaeological evidence? The most obvious is that the Hattian people, from whom the Hittites derived most of their religion, remained very close to nature. They loved the open air and the countryside, and also no doubt feared its possible malevolence. Their preoccupation was with water and things under the earth, which is understandable if one considers that for them not only were seeds stored underground, but also the water that nourished them. They found their holy places in caves and rocks, by rivers, wells and springs. No cave sanctuaries have been recorded, but the sunken floors on Büyükkale, the grotto near Temple I and the sanctuary at Gâvurkalesi suggest that such a thing would not be an alien concept.

There is nothing in the archaeological evidence that would lead us to look for any Indo-European influence. Any characteristics of the type erroneously assumed to indicate such influence must have come from the south, from Mesopotamia and the Hurrians, and particularly during the later Hittite period, rather than from the beginning.

The chthonic nature of Anatolian religion has archaeological illustration. It helps to understand that the Hittites, in contrast to turning their eyes to the sky to seek many of their gods, kept their eyes turned firmly down.

CHAPTER 2: NOTES

1. In Mellink, 1968, excavated Temizer.
2. In favour of Ahhiyawa = Achaea = Mycenaean Greeks see e.g. Page, 1959 and Huxley, 1960. Against, see e.g. Macqueen, 1968.
3. Götze, 1933.
4. Garstang & Gurney, 1959, p. 84.
5. Macqueen, 1968, p. 175.
6. Bryce, 1974, p. 112.
7. Private letter to Bryce, quoted in Bryce, 1974, on Apašaš = Habesos, she believes a Bronze Age site would lie at a very deep level and probably now be covered by ground water.
8. Götze, 1957, p. 49, 84, 102 and map.
9. Houwink Ten Cate, 1973, p. 142.
10. Mellaart, 1962, p. 111 ff.
11. Bryce, 1974, p. 108.
12. See especially Hawkins, Morpurgo Davies and Neumann, 1973.
13. KUB XXXVI 89, 1 14 and 27; see Haas, 1970 pp. 72 - 73 and p. 96.
14. See Chapter 4.
15. Mellaart, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1966, 1967, 1975.
16. Ucko & Rosenfeld, 1967.
17. Lloyd & Mellaart, 1962.
18. Lamb, 1956.
19. Diamant & Rutter, 1969. Although it is possible to see the horns as domestic equipment, the artefacts discovered with them on many occasions - not only pots, but beads, weapons etc. - do not make such and interpretation likely in most cases.
20. Lloyd & Mellaart, 1962, p. 32 and p. 264 ff. Fig. F.1.
21. Yakar, 1974.
22. Yakar, 1974, p. 154.
23. Alkim, 1981a, p. 190, 1981b, p. 466. One was discovered in 1975 and one in 1981.
24. Ucko & Rosenfeld, 1967. In a primitive community it is hard for everyone to survive. The race must be

reproduced; extra mouths are, however, not a blessing, but rather a burden.

25. Akurgal, 1962, p. 99 ff.
26. Bittel, 1970, p. 54 ff.
27. Naumann, 1955, p. 383 ff.
28. The Instructions for Temple Officials give an idea of some of the day to day activity in the temples, see Sturtevant, 1935, p. 127 ff., and *ANET*, p. 207 ff.
29. Goldman, 1956, p. 50.
30. KUB XVII 35 IV 3 ff.
31. Bittel, 1969, p. 11.
32. Bittel, 1975, p. 91 ff.
33. Bittel, 1975, p. 92.
34. Bittel, 1970, p. 107.
35. KUB XV 34, see Gurney, 1952, p. 163.
36. E.g. KUB XXXVI 89 I 4; KUB XV 34 III 22 - 27 and 33 - 40.
37. Bittel, 1970, p. 70 ff.
38. Bittel & Naumann, 1952, pp. 59 - 61, Supplement 4.
39. Bittel & Neve, 1970.
40. Neve, 1969/70, p. 97 ff.
41. Macqueen, 1975, p. 128 f.
42. Güterbock, see Neve, 1969/70, p. 109.
43. Macqueen, 1975, p. 121.
44. Macqueen, 1959, and Haas, 1970, p. 101 f.
45. Ussishkin, 1975, p. 85 - 105.
46. Macqueen, 1959, p. 172 f.
47. KUB XXXVI 89 and 90; to be discussed later - see Chapter 4.
48. Koşay, 1951.
49. Özgüç, 1980, reports finding a similar bronze standard showing two bulls within a ribbed round frame with a small ring (?reinguide) supported on their horns, at Oymaağaç. Similar standards have also been found at Horoztepe.
50. Koşay, 1951 and 1936/7, p. 160 ff.
51. Koşay, 1951, p. 185.
52. Haas, 1970, p. 64.
53. The stag was generally associated with the Protective Deity (^DKAL/LAMA) in the Hittite period. Akurgal, 1962, p. 87.

54. Macqueen, 1959, p. 181.
55. It is noteworthy that river gods in Greece frequently took the form of bulls. Macqueen, 1959, p. 181.
56. Akurgal, 1962, p. 24.
57. Excavated, Arık, 1937; Koşay, 1951; Koşay & Akok, 1966.
58. Delaporte, 1920. (General excavators Meriggi & Puglisi.)
59. Woolley, 1969, p. 110.
60. Akurgal, 1962, ill. 92.
61. Akurgal, 1962, ill. 93.
62. Akurgal, 1962, p. 128.
63. Gurney, 1952, p. 183.
64. KBo III 7 II 22 (by implication).
65. Naumann, 1955, p. 187 f.
66. Laroche, 1958.
67. Akurgal, 1962, p. 107.
68. Mellaart, 1962a, p. 117.
69. It has been pointed out that there is a ^DU *heuwaš*.
70. Lloyd, 1967, p. 72.
71. The shape of the reconstructed monument recalls, although on a very much larger scale, the shape of the pedestal surmounted with double stele (e.g. Macqueen, 1975, pl. 39) which has been interpreted as a *huwaši*.
72. In Mellink, 1972, 1973, 1974.
73. Akurgal, 1962, p. 209.
74. Akurgal, 1962, p. 105 f. and p. 112.
75. See Gurney, 1952, p. 165.
76. Viéyra, 1955, p. 34.
77. Akurgal, 1962, p. 112.
78. Güterbock, 1956, p. 53.
79. Mellaart, 1962, p. 116.
80. Bittel, 1939/41, p. 181 ff.
81. Bossert, 1946, p. 72 f.
82. Steinherr, 1965.
83. Güterbock, 1967 - Targašnalli of Ḫapalla.
84. Mellaart, 1962, p. 111.
85. Alkım, 1969, ill. 111 and 113.
86. Alp, 1950, p. 1 ff.

87. Wäfler, 1975, p. 26.
88. Akurgal, 1962, p. 112.
89. Steinherr, 1975, p. 317 f.
90. Steinherr, 1975.
91. Alp, 1943, p. 255.
92. Akurgal, 1962, p. 139.
93. Hrozný, 1933, p. 459.
94. Bier, 1976, pp. 115 - 126.
95. Bier, 1976, p. 124 ff., quoting KUB XV 34 III 22 - 27
and 33 - 40.
96. Bittel, 1975.
97. Laroche, 1969, p. 61 ff.
98. Bittel, 1970, p. 107 f.
99. See Carter, 1960, p. 26 f.
100. KUB X 9 II, the god, in a chariot decorated with red,
white and blue ribbons is taken in procession
through the Tawiniya gate to the *tarnu*-house in
the wood.
101. Falkenstein, 1959, p. 164.
102. Carter, 1960, Ch. II.
103. Carter, 1960, p. 41 ff., quoting Bossert.
104. KUB II 1 II 12, see Carter, 1960, p. 40.
105. Carter, 1960, p. 40, n. 3.
106. Beran, 1967.
107. Beran, 1967, p. 45, 250a.
108. Beran, 1967, p. 37.
109. Goldman, 1956, p. 247.
110. Tarhund is a name of the ^DU in the later period
(see Chapter III).
111. Özgüç, 1965.
112. Özgüç, 1965, p. 65.

CHAPTER 3

NOMENCLATURE

The Hittite name for the god (or gods) we misrepresent as the 'Weather-god' is one of the many thorny problems raised by this elusive deity-type. Indeed we do not know what name the Hittites gave to the most important god in their pantheon. Generally in Hittite writings he was represented by a Sumerogram, which in itself has doubtless been the cause of much of the misunderstanding of the true nature of the God. (Hereinafter throughout this chapter the style the God, or the Gods will be used rather than ^DU in order to avoid unnecessary confusion.)

It is relatively simple to list the other names by which the God was known in Bronze Age Anatolia.

THE ANATOLIAN NAMES

The only Hattic name for the God of which we can be sure is Taru (1). The name is used to apply to several of the gods: of Nerik (2), of Hatti and Hattuša (3) and the God without portfolio (4). In a Hurrian context the god Taru Takidu/Darru Dakidu appears (5) although the gods with whom he is classified are Hurrian/Mesopotamian. He also appears as Darru/Daru, without Takidu (6). It is likely that this is yet another instance of the free borrowing of gods so common in polytheistic religions. He is certainly a minor deity to the Hurrians.

In the Hattian version of *The Moon that fell from the sky* (7) Taru is firmly equated with ^DU in the Hittite. He also appears in the Hattian *Song of the Bull* (8) and the adjective ^DTarulilli is applied to the bulls of the god. Haas (9) makes the equation with the God of Nerik. Whether Taru was the general name for the God in Hattic, or just one of many, is difficult to say. It is not impossible that Taru was a type, rather than a name (the determinative does not usually appear in the Hattic texts).

Certainly a name with a similar sound must have been well implanted in the minds of the Anatolians. Although Laroche does not accept a correspondence between Taru and Tarḫund (10), the close similarity of sound and the importance of Tarḫund may lead us to think such a correspondence likely.

Tarḫund is the chief god of the Neo-Hittites (11), and of the Luwians (12). He appears in Hieroglyphic Hittite (or rather, as we have seen, Hieroglyphic Luwian). There is considerable evidence (13) for the survival of the worship of Tarḫund, translated into Zeus, into Hellenistic times. The name survived as an element in personal names, especially of priests, and in town-names (14). The worship of Tarḫund/Zeus was strongest in the east - that is nearer to the centre of what was the Hittite homeland.

Gurney (15) compares Tarḫund with the Etruscan Tarchon and hence Tarquinius, which would be more evidence for the legendary migration from Anatolia to Italy. An intermediary stage *trqqas* appears in sepulchral inscriptions in Lycia (16).

The name Tarḫund does not appear in Hittite religious texts (although it does appear in proper names [17]), but the importance of his worship in the later period, the area in which he was worshipped, and the equation between him and the ^DU/^DW testify to the continuity of the religion in the area.

Laroche (18, 19) accords the Luwian god the name Datta, basing his conclusions somewhat arbitrarily on certain supposedly Luwian personal names. Houwink Ten Cate (20), and Gordon (21), have refuted this suggestion satisfactorily, and it is wise to follow their conclusions. Gordon transcribes Tarğunda - rather than Tarḫunda - on the evidence of Ugaritic and Aramaic transcriptions of personal names. It is surely more likely, however, that the well-attested Anatolian name may have been misrepresented in a foreign language, rather than the other way around.

The evidence for the supreme importance of Tarḫund as the successor of the Hittite God within Anatolia itself is therefore strong.



Laroche also had a suggestion for the actual name the Hittites gave to their God - Ḫumunna (22). He favoured this name, instead of Zašḫapuna (an earlier suggestion based on similar evidence - still favoured as a possibility by Güterbock (23), whom we should rather recognise as a mountain deity (although bearing in mind that the function of the mountain god and the God could be interchangeable, cf. Zalianu at the *purulli* festival). Laroche's evidence for this theory is very thin, nor indeed is there evidence in favour of Zašḫapuna being anything other than the mountain god we know him as. He has, however, since suggested the names Tarḫu- or Tarḫunna- (24) and this is the suggestion that seems to me to be the most appealing. Macqueen (25) suggests that Lelwani, for whom *purulli* was celebrated (26), was also a name of a God.


It would, however, still be safe to say that we do not know what name the Hittites gave to their high god. We know an early name, and a later one, but the Hittites themselves invariably hid the God behind one of two Sumerograms (27), which presents us with considerable difficulties.

TEŠUB

We do know, however, the name the Hurrians gave to their high god, who became syncretised with/usurped the place of the indigenous god in the late Empire. It has been suggested (28) that in the New Empire a Hurrian dynasty was in control. This would certainly explain the imposition of Hurrian myth and cult on the indigenous religious practice. Tešub took over from the Anatolian God, but he was quite a different type. He was indeed a storm-god in the traditional mould. His myths, the *Kingship in Heaven* cycle and *The Song of Ullikummi* bear close resemblances to Mesopotamian and Levantine myth. The Hurrian centre was the North Syrian region, so this is hardly surprising. The Hurrian myths are also far more accomplished as literary works than the Hittite ones, which really read more like simple folktales than the mythology of an important civilisation. There is really very little that could excuse any confusion of identity between Tešub and the Anatolian God, but he must be included for the sake of completeness (29).

THE IDEOGRAMS

Before discussing the Sumerian ideograms, we may mention a different one, that is the representation of the God in the hieroglyphic writing. The sign is a simple one:  represents 'god' or the determinative (30) and  (and variants) the God (31): as the sign looks like a W it is frequently transcribed thus.

It is described by Laroche as the cursive form of sign 196 which is three-pronged lightning and appears to have the same phonetic value. It is not impossible, however, especially with some of the variants () to see it as a convention for water. As the hieroglyphs were used in the later period, however, heavy outside influence may have affected the character of the God and his attributes.



As with cuneiform, the hieroglyphic sign is capable of being read in different ways - phonetically or ideographically. The name Tarḥun(d) can be seen behind it, and there is a good amount of evidence for case endings (32). The sign may also stand for Tešub in certain contexts.

The ^DW has attributes, towns and epithets, just as the God has in cuneiform writings, but not so many are recorded (33). (The Catalogue of Gods to be appended to this chapter contains approximately 130 variants of ^DU and 15 of ^DW.)

The hieroglyphs are, of course, found only on seals or in inscriptions. There are no libraries of tablets in hieroglyphic writing to add to our knowledge of both the writing system itself and the minds of the people who wrote in it. The rock carvings which bear hieroglyphic inscriptions tend to bear scenes for which we have no textual evidence whatsoever (34).

Our greatest body of evidence for any aspect of Hittite culture or society comes, of course, from the cuneiform tablets found particularly at Boğazköy. Unfortunately the Hittite texts may offer considerable problems of interpretation, thanks to the peculiar system of writing called *allography* developed by the Hittite scribes. It was their habit, whether to save time (as it must certainly have done) or from convention, to replace a Hittite word with a Sumerian, or even Akkadian one. Certainly the script was far better suited to either of these languages than to a Indo-European one. No Indo-European language can be broken down into syllables without being damaged in the process, and made extremely cumbersome. It was

therefore simpler to write down a single sign for a Sumerian word (a Sumerogram) rather than several for the Hittite one. A Hittite case ending or verb ending would sometimes be added for clarity, or perhaps an Akkadian ending - indeed it is not impossible to find a Sumerian word with both an Akkadian and a Hittite ending. The end result is a text which is quite legible, but difficult to interpret. Obviously it was the convention that certain words were never written in Hittite at all, so that we are quite unable to determine the original word.

Such was the case with the Sumerograms used to designate the God. There are two different signs used:  (35), which may be read either as ^DIM or ^DIŠKUR. Without the determinative it is simply the Sumerian word IM = wind. The other sign:  (36) is ^DU. As this causes even more problems than ^DIM/IŠKUR it will be dealt with last.

The Sumerian significance of ^DIM/IŠKUR is quite simple to explain. IŠKUR was the Sumerian storm-god, supplanted later in Babylonia by the Semitic Adad (who does not appear in Hittite). He was not one of the major Sumerian deities. He was symbolic of the highly destructive storms of the plains of Mesopotamia, and it must be recalled that a storm in the extremely hot low-lying plains of southern Iraq is a very different thing from a storm in the continental highlands of Anatolia. This must be emphasized before attempting to seek correspondences. The character and actions of IŠKUR really bear no relation to the character and actions of the Anatolian God. There is a tale of IŠKUR being sent into the underworld, but to the Sumerians, and later the Babylonians (compare, for example, the story of the descent of Ištar) the underworld was a place to be avoided if at all possible. In Anatolia, however, the gods in general descend into holes and underground whenever they are either afraid or in a fit of pique. It is not a place of dread, but a place of refuge, indeed it is home. The Anatolian God retires underground, or into rivers, and this is completely different from IŠKUR who has no connection with rivers except in a destructive sense - the flooding caused by storms. He most certainly never enters one.

It is not easy to say why the Hittites started using this particular sign for their God. It is the one which tends to appear in the earlier texts both historical and mythological. It is in the Empire period that ^DU gains ground, becoming in the late ^DEmpire by far the commonest representation (37). It is ^DIM/IŠKUR who appears in many of the oldest Anatolian myths e.g. the Yuzgat Tablet; the Disappearing ^DGod; the Illuyanka story (although the God of Nerik is ^DU here). ^DU does appear, but not commonly. By the mid-fourteenth century ^DU was firmly established. In the Annals of Muršili II (1345 - 1315) ^DIM does not appear at all.

The two signs continued to be used side by side, even

though one or the other tended to be more popular at different times. In various texts, indeed, it is possible to find both used indiscriminately, but it is generally true that only one is used at a time. Perhaps the popularity of ^DU increased just because it is one of the easiest possible cuneiform signs to write, unlike ^DIŠKUR. Broadly speaking, however, the progression was from IM to ^DU. Whether we should or should not draw any conclusions from this will be discussed later.

The use of the Sumerogram ^DU is not at all easy to explain, even within a Babylonian context. For the Hittites it was the commonest way of writing their God. It appears in treaties, ceremonial texts, myths. The 'Thousand Gods' of the Hittite pantheon must have been composed largely of these. It is because it is so common, and because it is on the surface meaningless that it is being used elsewhere throughout this work as a general term to replace the quite erroneous 'Weather-god'.

The actual meaning of U is ten. Without the god determinative it is used as an ordinary numeral both in Akkadian and Hittite writings. In Akkadian it is used to signify Adad (the IM sign is also used). This Semitic name was widespread for the storm-god (cf. Ba'al Hadad in Syria-Palestine). His character again is totally unlike that of the Anatolian God. He symbolised destruction rather than the beneficent aspects of the weather, although he could be seen as bringing life-giving rain, rather than death-dealing floods and gales. Adad was more important to the Semitic population than IŠKUR to the Sumerians, perhaps as a reflection of their more violent temperament. He was a deity of the skies, of thunder and lightning, hurricane winds.

The Hittites certainly had Gods of rain and storm and thunder (38) but it could in no wise be claimed that this was the primary function of the Hittite God. So far from that, they had Gods responsible for so many different areas: towns, phenomena, buildings - as the list will show - that it would have been a surprising omission if something so awe-inspiring as a thunderstorm were not similarly honoured. The God of Nerik, however, or the God of the Illuyanka tale, or the Disappearing God have nothing whatsoever in common with Adad save this perplexing sign ^DU.

It is therefore now necessary to ponder the significance of the number 10, whether there is any clarification to be gained there. It happens that numbers were very important to the Babylonians, and they were imbued with mystic significance (39). They played with names and numbers in a similar way to the Gnostics or the eighteenth century Cabbalists.

Syllables were given equivalent numerical values and these were used in a way that seems to suggest some kind of mystery cult in Babylon. Numbers could be used instead of names; the wall of Sargon's palace at Khorsabad was the

length of the number of his name, and it is believed that the proportions of Babylonian temples may have had some mystic significance.

The major gods were assigned numbers. The perfect number 60 (the Babylonians worked not on a 10 x 10 system, but 10 x 6 [40]) was given to Anu, the highest god, 50 to Marduk, and so on in descending order. The Moon god Sin had the number 30, for fairly logical reasons, but frequently the number given was quite arbitrary. Ištar had the number 15, and her daimons either one third or two thirds, that is, either 5 or 10. There does not appear to be any reason why the daimons of Ištar should be compared with the Anatolian God. Adad actually had the number 6, although the 'ten' sign could be used to mean him. The original number of Marduk was 10, but he required a bigger number as the national god. Essentially Marduk was a solar deity. He was made the son of Ea, the god of the underground waters (*apsu*) in order to rationalise taking his place, and was responsible for vegetation and the life and health of the king. It is really not possible to use this as the basis for a comparison, as any national god would have similar responsibilities.

We are left therefore with the conclusion that there is no logical meaning to be found behind the use of the number 10 either in Babylon, where it obviously had mystical significance, or in Anatolia.

We have therefore to consider what could have led the Hittites to use this sign, and the IM sign, to represent their own God. A storm-god would strike a chord with one of their own gods, but by no means the most important. Thunder was the 'voice of the god', and 'thunder-vessels' were used in ritual (41), but thunder marks the changing seasons, important to an agricultural community, and furthermore it is such a dramatic natural phenomenon that it would certainly be attributed to some supernatural power. In general, however, the storm-god is not an Anatolian type. Comparisons with IŠKUR and Adad are therefore unlikely to be productive. We cannot know why the Hittites started using IM/IŠKUR - he was not even the most important god in the pantheon. Adad had the bull as his associate, and the iconographic similarity may have led to his being compared with the native God. Certainly whatever esoteric meaning the U sign may have had in Babylonia would be lost on the Hittites. They may have been aware that the sign had some special quality, and begun to use it for that reason. So far we can discover no really satisfactory explanation for the use of these signs. Sumerian was a literary language long after it had ceased to be spoken, and it was still being used many hundreds of years later in Anatolia - but at two removes: the first to Semitic Babylon and Assyria and the next to the alien highlands of Anatolia. It may well be that the modern scholar knows a great deal more about the religion of Mesopotamia than the Hittites ever did.

We have surveyed the various names or signs of the God, with brief mention of their varied functions. As usual we are left with a sense of confusion which must remain until future scholarship provides us with more mythological texts, and preferably one with the actual Hittite name included, though sadly this seems unlikely to happen, as none of the many texts published to date has done so.

The Catalogue which follows should give a picture of the range of interests of the God. While it is, I believe, the most complete list in existence it would have been much harder to compile without the invaluable groundwork of Emmanuel Laroche, to whom every scholar in this particular field should owe a debt of gratitude.

CATALOGUE

Taru: Hattian, appears in Hattian texts, adj. ^DTarulilli (of bulls).

Tarhund: Luwian and Neo-Hittite. Very widespread cult, survives into Hellenistic period translated into Zeus.

Tarhu(nna)-: Likely suggestion for a Hittite name.

trqqas: Variant found in Lycia.

(Datta): Laroche's suggestion for name of Luwian god, since refuted.

Humunna: Laroche's early suggestion for name of Hittite God.

Zašhapuna: Conceived by some, including Güterbock and Macqueen, as a possible name for Hittite God.

Lelwani: Suggested by Macqueen as a possible name.

Tešub: High god of the Hurrians, consort Hebat. Important in state cult of late Empire, and in South-East.

Variants

Tešub of Betteyarik: cf. ^DU.

Tešub of the Camp: oath god.

Tešub of Ḫalpa: i.e. Aleppo, important cult centre for worship of Tešub.

Tešub of Ḫatti: as the national god.

Tešub *ḫellipi*: one of the favourite gods of Muwatalli (cf. ^DISKUR and ^DU).

Tešub of Help: oath god.

Tešub of Ḫiššašhapa: cf. ^DU.

Tešub of Hurma: cf. ^DU.
 Tešub of Kaḫat: oath god.
 Tešub of Kizzuwatna: Hurrian area of South-East Anatolia.
 Tešub of Kummanni: chief city of Kizzuwatna.
 Tešub of Kurša: oath god.
 Tešub of Liḫzina: Anatolian town, figures in Hattic myth.
 Tešub of Manuzziya: has Hurrian *kalutiš* (circle of gods).
 Tešub of Nirik: the Hittite cult centre.
 Tešub of Šamuḫa: a Hurrian cult centre.
 Tešub of Šapinuwa: cf. ^DU.
 Tešub of Šarešša: cf. ^DU.
 Tešub *šuhurripi*: favoured by Muwatalli.
 Tešub of Taḫaya: cf. ^DU.
 Tešub of Uda: in South-East.

^DW: hieroglyph for the God, also for Tešub. Generally South and South-East.

Variants

^DW of the sky: found Tarsus, Yazılıkaya, Gürün, Aleppo, Cekte.
^DW of Alep/Alapa: found Aleppo, Carchemish.
^DW of Kargamiš: i.e. Carchemish.
^DW of Malatya
^DW of (Mt.) Arputa: found at Carchemish.
^DW of Ḫattuša: found at Cağdin.
^DW of Barga: found at Carchemish.
^DW of ? (unknown town): found at Karahüyük, Elbistan, Malatya.
^DW of the vine: found at Bor, the Sultan Han stele.
 The Great ^DW: found at İvriz, Gürün.
 The Strong ^DW: found at Carchemish, Ras Shamra.
^DW *artalaša*: meaning unknown, found at Kululu.
^DW *arḫa ušanuwamiš*: meaning uncertain, found at Karatepe.
^DW ?: found at Karadağ.

^DIM: Sumerogram = ^DIŠKUR.
 Very frequent appearance both in historical (Old Kingdom and Early Empire) and mythological texts.

^DIŠKUR: Sumerian storm-god, used for Hittite God.

Variants

(frequently same as ^DU)

gimraš ^DIŠKUR-*aš* = ^DParataššiš)

LÍL-*aš* ^DIŠKUR): God of meadows (Luwian,

^DIŠKUR *SE-E-RI*) acc. Laroche, 1947).

^DIŠKUR *ḫellipi*: God of Muwatalli, appears on seal.

^DIŠKUR *tuzziyaš*: of the army.

^DU: the high god of the Hittite pantheon.

Variants

^DU Á.DAḫ: 'the helper'.

^DU URU Adaniya: KUB XXX 31 IV 7 - 8.

^DU URU Alaḫzana: KUB VI 45 II 43 = 46 II 11.

^DU URU Alduša: KUB XXX 65 II 13.

^DU *alpaš*: of the clouds.

^DU AN.E)

šAMĒ): of Heaven = ^DU of Ḫatti. Father of ^DU of Nerik.
nepišaš)

^DU URU Anzipa: VBoT 83 Rs. 8.

^DU URU Arinna): of the cult centre of the high goddess of
URU TÚL) the Hittite pantheon. TÚL = 'spring'.

^DU URU Arziya (?): KUB XIV 13 I 16.

^DU URU Aššaradda: KBo II 1 II 40.

^DU URU Aššur: KUB XII 2 I 10; has priest Marašanda, cf.
IV 8, priest Tarḫuntapiya.

^DU URU Bettiyarik: oath god, probably Tešub.

^DU URU Durmitta: less important here than Telepinu.

^DU É.GAL: of the palace.

^DU É GÍR.GAL)

ḫimri): various sanctuaries.

(GIŠ) *šinapši*)

^DU É.GUD: of cattle-stalls, patron of cattle.

^DU É *Tawannannaš*: of the house of the queen.

^DU GAL: 'the great' (?Telepinu, see Laroche, 1946/47,
p. 109).

- ^D_U *gimraš*)
^Š_{ERI}): cf. ^D_{IŠKUR}.
^{LÍL}-*aš*)
^D_U ^{URU} *Guršamašša*: KUB XVII 35 col. II 9.
^D_U ^{URU} *Hakmiš*: *Hakmiš/Hakpiš* was closely linked with *Nerik*.
^D_U ^{URU} *Halap*: i.e. Aleppo. Really *Tešub* in this area.
^D_U *ḫalziyawaš*: of the appeal, of calling (*Hurrian* acc. *Laroche*, 1946/47, p. 111).
^D_U *ḫandandannaš*: of 'numen'.
^D_U ^{URU} *Ḫanuḫa*: 134/e obv. 2 (see *Haas*, 1970, p. 256).
^D_U ^{URU} *Ḫarna*: BoTu 60 III 43.
^D_U *ḫarši* (*ḫarši*): of the thunderstorm.
^D_U ^{URU} *Ḫarziuna*: KUB VI 45 II 34 = 46 III 2.
^D_U *ḫaštuwaš*: KUB XXV 22 III 1.
^D_U ^{URU} *Ḫašuna*: KUB XIV 13 I 4.
^D_U ^{URU} *Ḫatra*: KUB VI 45 II 64 = 46 III 31; KUB XXVII 1 I 56; KUB XXV 25 2.
^D_U ^{URU} *Ḫatti*: = ^D_U AN.E. One of the most important gods. Protector of King and State.
^D_U ^{URU} *Ḫattuša*: the capital city.
^D_U ^{URU} *Ḫayaša*: KUB XII 2 I 24.
^D_U *ḫeuwaš*: of rain.
^D_U ^{HI}.^{HI}: 'gleaming', ?lightning.
^D_U ^{URU} *Ḫiššašḫapa*: oath god.
^D_U *ḫulaššaššiš*: = ^D_U ^{URU} *Ḫulašša/iya*. In emergency prayers of *Muwatalli*.
^D_U ^{URU} *Ḫupišna*: KUB VI 45 II 15 = 46 II 56.
^D_U ^{URU} *Ḫurma*: oath god.
^D_U ^{URU} *Ḫurna/iya*: KUB XIX 37 III 42; KUB VI 45 II 26 = 46 II 66.
^D_U ^{URU} *Ḫurranašša*: also ^{HUR}.^{SAG} *Ḫurranašša*. (Note connection between God and mountain.)
^D_U ^{URU} *Ḫurša*: KBo II 7 18.
^D_U ^{URU} *Ḫuršalašši*: KBo II 1 II 38.
^D_U ^{URU} *Ḫuršanašša*: = ^D_U *ḫuršannaš*.
^D_U ^{URU} *Illiya*: KUB VI 45 II 20 = 46 II 60.
^D_U ^{URU} *Iptala*: KUB III 87 14.
^D_U ^{URU} *Irrite*: oath god.
^D_U ^{URU} *Išḫupitta*: oath god.

- ^D_U URU Ištuwa: KBo IV 11 Obv. 3, Rs. 38; KUB XXV 37 IV 39; KUB XXXII 123 III 28 ff.
- ^D_U URU Kaḥat: cf. Tešub.
- ^D_U URU Kagapa: KUB V 6 IV 17.
- ^D_U URU Karaḥna: KUB VI 45 II 5 = 46 II 48.
- ^D_U URU Kaštama: linked with Zašḥapuna (KUB XXV 24 II 15 ff.) also worshipped in other areas.
- ^D_U URU Katapa: KBo II 17 9.
- ^D_U KI.KAL.BAD)
KARAŠ): of the army.
tuzziyaš)
- ^D_U KI.LAM: of the market.
- ^D_U URU Kinnara: KUB XXXI 44 III 6.
- ^D_U URU Kizzuwatna: Hurrian area, probably means Tešub.
- ^D_U URU Kulella: KUB XXX 56 III 5.
- ^D_U URU KUG.UD-ti): ^D_U URU Hattusa.
URU KUBABBAR)
- ^D_U URU Kuliwišna: Hurrian connections in KUB XXXIII 62 II 7 ff.
- ^D_U URU Kumma: KUB III 87 II 24; IBoT I 33 42.
- ^D_U URU Kummanni: the Hurrian town.
- ^D_U URU Kummiya: enemy of Kumarbi. Hurrian.
- ^D_U kunnaḥḥuwaš: of success.
- ^D_U URU Kuwaliya: KUB XXVII 1 II 58 cf. KBo IV 3 I 15, 20.
- ^D_U URU Liḥzina: Telepinu found sleeping here. Cult centre.
- ^D_U URU Mammanantaš: KBo I 7 Rs. 24.
- ^D_U URU Manuzziya: Hurrian. Imanuzziya also found.
- ^D_U URU Maraš: KBo II 1 II 28.
- ^D_U miyannaš: of increase.
- ^D_U multarriḥu): the Almighty ^D_U. Laroche (1946/47, p. 124) compares with NERGAL.
MULTARRIḤA)
- ^D_U muwuna: of vital forces (suggested Laroche, 1946/47, p. 110).
- ^D_U URU Nenašša: KUB VI 45 II 12 = 46 II 54.
- ^D_U URU Nerik: one of the most important Gods.
- ^D_U NIR.GAL): the Mighty ^D_U, cf. ^D_U multarrihu.
NIR.IG)
- ^D_U URU Nuḥašši: oath god.

- D_U GIŠ_{PA-aš}: of the sceptre.
- D_U URU_{Paḥ(ḥa)tima}: KUB VI 45 II 36 = 46 III 1; KUB XVII 19 5.
- D_U URU_{Panišša}: KBo II 7 Rs. 23.
- D_U URU_{Parenta}: KBo II 1 III 7.
- D_U URU_{Parašhunta}: KUB VI 45 II 38 = 46 III 7; KUB XVIII 19 4; KBo IV 13 I 47.
- D_U *piḥaimi*: KUB XII 2 I 18; III 1. Laroche, 1946/47, p. 71 = *piḥaššaššiš*, surname of D_U of Šanaḥuitta. Cf. Piḥammi.
- D_U *piḥaššaššiš*: cf. Tešub. Patron of Muwatalli.
- D_U (BEL) *RIZZUTI*: = D_U EN RI.IZ.ZU. Of helping, cf. Tešub.
- D_U URU_{Šabina}: oath god.
- D_U SAG.DU): of the head (the person of the King).
ḥaršannaš)
- D_U URU_{Šaḥḥaniya}: KUB VI 45 II 30 = 46 II 70.
- D_U URU_{Šaḥḥuwiya}: KUB VI 45 II 32 = 46 III 1.
- D_U URU_{Šaḥpina}: KBo II 17 5; KBo V 3 I 43; KUB VI I 46; KUB V 6 IV 17; KUB XIX 50 IV 5; KUB XXI 1 IV 7.
- D_U URU_{Šallapa}: KUB VI 45 II 36 = 46 III 5.
- D_U URU_{Šamuḥa}: cf. Tešub. Hurrian town.
- D_U URU_{Šanaḥuitta}: see D_U *piḥaimi*.
- D_U URU_{Šanantiya}: KBo II 1 IV 1.
- D_U URU_{Šapinuwa}: cf. Hurrian D_U-aš *zapimuwamuna*, KUB XXVII 1 II 66.
- D_U URU_{Šarešša}: oath god.
- D_U URU_{Šarpaenta}: KBo II 1 III 20.
- D_U URU_{Šartiya}: KUB XIX 50 IV 6.
- D_U URU_{Šaruwalašši}: KBo II 1 III.
- D_U URU_{Šugazziya}: KUB VI 45 II 7 = 46 II 50.
- D_U *šuhurippi*: patron of Muwatalli, cf. Tešub, and IŠKUR *ḥellipi*.
- D_U URU_{Šuruwa}: KBo II 1 II 9.
- D_U URU_{Taḥaya}: oath god.
- D_U *takšulaš*: of peace.
- D_U URU_{Tarammeka}: HG No. 2 I 3.
- D_U URU_{Tarmaliya}: KUB XII 2 IV 10; KUB XVIII 6 IV 7.
- D_U URU_{Tegarama}: KUB VI 45 II 66 = 46 III 32.

- ^{D_U} ^{URU} *tetḥašnaš*: of thunder.
^{D_U} ^{URU} *Tiliura*: HG No. 3 I 1.
^{D_U} ^{URU} *TIL-LA-NI*: of tells and ghost towns.
^{D_U} ^{URU} *Tupazziya*: KUB VI 45 II 69 = 46 III 34.
^{D_U} ^{URU} *Tuwanuwa*: KUB VI 45 III 18 = 46 II 48. Classical Tyana.
^{D_U} ^{URU} *Uda*: cf. *Tešub*. Hurrian town.
^{D_U} ^{URU} *Uḫuš(u)man*: KBo I 1 Rs. 55; 3 Rs. 23.
^{D_U} ^{URU} *Unni*: KUB VI 45 II 60 = 46 III 27.
^{D_U} ^{Ú.SAL} ^{URU} *Hakmiš*: of the meadows of *Hakmiš*.
^{D_U} ^{Ú.SA.LI} ^{URU} *Urišta*: of the meadows of *Urišta*.
^{D_U} *warraḫitaššaš*: of rescue.
^{D_U} *waršaš*: of dew.
^{D_U} ^{URU} *Wašuganni*: KBo II 1 II 21.
^{D_U} ^{URU} *Wattarwa*: KBo II 1 II 21.
^{D_U} ^{URU} *Zaḫalukka*: one of the more prominent Gods, close links with the ^{D_U} of *Nerik*; can be described ^{URU} *Nerikel*.
^{D_U} ^{URU} *Zarwiša*: KUB VI 45 II 28 = 46 II 68.
^{D_U} ^{URU} *Zippalanda*: ^{URU} *Ziplandel*. Important God, stood in for ^{D_U} of *Nerik* during *Kaška* occupation.
^{D_U} ^{URU} *Ziyazi(ya)*: KBo II 7 Rs. 10, connected with Mt. *Kenkiluša*; KBo II 13 I, connected with Mt. *Kilinuna*.
^{D_U} ^{URU} *Ziziya*: KBo II 13 I connected with Mt. *Kilinuwa*.

CHAPTER 3: NOTES

1. Laroche, 1946/47, p. 32 f.
2. KUB XXXVI 89 Obv.; KUB XX 10 IV 6 - 14.
3. Laroche, 1946/47, p. 32 - 33; KUB XXVIII 15 Obv. 2.
4. KUB XXVIII 3, 4, 5 - *The Moon that fell from the Sky; ANET*, p. 120. Laroche, 1946/47, p. 111: husband of Wurusemu and father of the Gods of Nerik and Zippalanda.
5. Laroche, 1949, p. 123; KUB X 27 III, KUB XXVII 1 II.
6. Laroche, 1946/47, p. 61.
7. KUB XXVIII 3 - 5, left hand column in Hattic, right hand column in Hittite.
8. KUB XX 10 IV.
9. Haas, 1970, p. 63.
10. Laroche, 1946/47, p. 33.
11. Gurney, 1952, p. 138.
12. Houwink Ten Cate, 1961; Gurney, 1952, p. 130.
13. Houwink Ten Cate, 1961.
14. Houwink Ten Cate, 1961, p. 208 ff.
15. Gurney, 1952, p. 138.
16. Bryce, 1981, p. 83.
17. Laroche, 1966, p. 289.
18. Laroche, 1946/47, p. 89.
19. Laroche, 1966, p. 40.
20. Houwink Ten Cate, 1961.
21. Gordon, 1967, p. 82 ff.
22. Laroche, 1946/47, p. 106 f. Based on apparent case endings.
23. Güterbock, 1961, p. 152.
24. Laroche, 1958, p. 93 f.
25. Macqueen, 1959, p. 179.
26. Götze, 1933, p. 188.
27. See, however, Chapter 4 for the case for the inclusion of Telepinu in the ranks of Us. It is a mystery why he alone should be named.
28. Güterbock, 1954, p. 383 ff.

29. See Laroche, 1949, for the Hurrian pantheon, and Chapter 5 for further discussion.
30. Laroche, 360; Meriggi, 185; Güterbock, 79.
31. Laroche, 199; Meriggi, 398; Güterbock, 181. Phonetic value 'ha'.
32. Laroche, 1960, p. 107.
33. Laroche, 1960, p. 106.
34. See Chapter 2.
35. Friedrich, 1960, No. 262; Delitzsch, No. 232.
36. Friedrich, No. 205; Delitzsch, No. 238.
37. May be found in a Hattian context, e.g. KUB XXVIII 98.
38. ^DU *ḫeuwaš*, ^DU *ḫaršiḫarši*, ^DU *tetḫešnaš*.
39. Contenau, 1954, p. 165 ff.
40. Contenau, 1954, p. 221.
41. See Chapters 1 and 4.

CHAPTER 4

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

THE CHTHONIC ELEMENT - ETYMOLOGICAL CLUES

We have already examined the physical environment of early Anatolia, and suggested from this that the religion of the area would be likely to be based on the chthonic element (1). This would seem to be backed up by the archaeological record (2) and it may now be helpful to consider various pieces of evidence which may give further substance to such an interpretation.

The Hattian root *wur/pur* = 'earth' (3) appears as part of gods' names, an epithet of the ^DU of Nerik, and as part of the name of the best known, and possibly the greatest, of all Hittite festivals.

Firstly, let us consider the Hattian term for the deity known usually as the Sun-goddess of Arinna, Wurušemu. She was the wife of the ^DU of Heaven/Hatti, and mother of the ^DUs of Nerik and Zippalanda, and the major female deity of the Hittites.

The *-šemu* part of the compound is as yet unexplained (4), but the *wur* root is an indication of her chthonic nature. This is reinforced by the evidence of the deities with whom she was syncretised: EREŠKIGAL, and Lelwani, the Mesopotamian and Syrian underworld goddesses. She was, of course, also syncretised with Hebat, a solar deity, from whom she is likely to have assumed the title of Sun-goddess, but it may be significant that Hebat's mother was Allatum, the Hurrian underworld goddess, and that in many cultures the functions of the sun and underworld deities may coincide, as the sun may be deemed to be traversing the underworld during the hours of darkness.

A further title of Wurušemu is *taknaš* ^DUTU-aš - Sun-goddess of the earth - who in one text (5) has offerings made to her in a *hateššar* (6). This is a traditional way of approaching the underworld deities (7), and it would hardly seem appropriate to sacrifice to the sun in a pit. The Hittite version *annaš daganzipaš* also occurs (Mother of the Earth [8]).

When we consider Wurušemu as the wife and mother of ^DUs there is another aspect to which we may pay attention: the ^DUTU *MĒ-E/weleni* - the Sun-goddess of water (9). As we have already noted, water provision in Anatolia is governed most particularly by the condition of the ground,

the earth. Furthermore, the Sumerogram used for the goddess' city of Arinna is TÚL, that is, a spring. It suggests that the cult centre was built by one of the springs that are a feature of the central Anatolian geology. This would seem entirely appropriate.

(The variant Purušimu is also known in an unpublished tablet [10]).

There is a second goddess bearing the *wur* element in her name, Wurunanniga (11, 12). Again the derivation of this name is by no means clear, but it is possible that it contains the element *-anna-* = 'mother', and perhaps the Hittite word *nega-*, as yet untranslated (13). Femininity and the earth are closely linked concepts, and whatever function this deity may have had, if we may dare to judge from the suggested etymology, it is likely to have been chthonic.

A third *wur* deity is Wurunkatte, identified generally with ZABABA, the Sumerian war-god. His name means 'king of the earth' in Hattic (*katte* = 'king' [14]). He was a deity of the early Hittite pantheon, one of the circle of the ^DU (15), and he had a strong cult at Nerik, the holy city of the ^DU (16). He was a war-god, and is linked in treaties with the bringers of death and pestilence (17), appearing in the earliest treaties of the Old Kingdom. Under the name ZABABA he appears regularly in the state cult, as one might expect. He is one of the disappearing gods in the myth of the 'Yuzgat Tablet' (18). Gurney places the centre of his worship at Tuwanuwa (19), and Laroche at Tuḫumiyara (20). Macqueen (21) explores the possibility of a connection between Wurunkatte, king of the earth, and EN.KI, lord of the earth, in the Sumerian pantheon. EN.KI is the deity of the sweet waters, seen by Jacobsen (22), as the active power in creation with the earth as the passive. It is not impossible that Wurunkatte might also have a connection with water, in view of his position at Nerik (see Note 16).

The minor deity Purilimi is found at KUB XII 2 III 22 f. which describes the offerings for him at a spring festival.

In the first part of the myth of the disappearance of the ^DU of Nerik the god is deemed to have withdrawn into a hole, for reasons which remain obscure. In the course of the ritual the priest throws offerings into a *ḫateššar*, and pronounces the sentence *ui ui purušaēl purušaēl*; that is, 'come, come, earth spirit, earth spirit' (23). The whole ritual is obviously chthonic, a fact which can only be underlined by the use of the style *purušaēl*. It is hardly the epithet one might apply to a 'weather-god' such as Zeus or Adad. The word in Hattian and comes in the context of a primitive-seeming myth, which one may safely assume to be very early. KUB XXXVI 89 is in general the most compellingly obvious piece of evidence to prove that the nature of the ^DU is fundamentally different from that

which it has been assumed to be - almost without question - till recently. The myth will be discussed later in this chapter.

We come now to the great festival of *purulli* (24). It was celebrated at the holy city of Nerik, when possible. Nerik was in Kaška hands for hundreds of years, and it is a powerful testament to the importance and strength of the worship of the ^DU that the city was never forgotten in all that time. Indeed the restoration of the city was one of Ḫattušili III's many proud boasts (and this from a king who was very likely Hurrian and had a Hurrian priestess as his queen). *purulli* was celebrated for the ^DUs of Nerik, of Zippalanda, and of Ḫatti (also for the underworld god/dess Lelwani). Its celebration was so important that Muṣili broke off a military campaign to attend to it. We shall presently discuss the myth which is its focus: the two variant versions of the slaying of Illuyanka.

It is interesting to note here the Hurrian usage of *pur(u)li* = 'house, temple, palace'. It is used e.g. for the temple of Tešub and Ḫebat. *wu_u-ru-ul-li* is also used. Perhaps this is one instance of Hurrian taking over an original Hattian word through Hittite. Cultural influence can be a two-way traffic. It is conceivable that the place of the gods, i.e. the earth, should be translated into the house of the gods (note it is used of Tešub), i.e. a temple (25). It is worth noting also that the places of celebration of *purulli* included, probably, such as the 'temple' of Yazılıkaya, so that the use of the same word for the festival and then later for the place is not unreasonable.

It may seem to be pushing a point too far to pick on a mere handful of the myriad Hittite gods, and one festival. These gods and the festival, however, undoubtedly date back to pre-Hittite Anatolia, and can give good ideas of the indigenous religion, so different from the Hurrian or Indo-European religions which have confused the issue. These are Hattian names, a Hattian festival, a Hattian epithet for a Hattian god. It is my contention that, despite syncretisations and foreign influences, the nature of the ^DUs was fundamentally that of the original pre-Hittite deities, and these further pieces of evidence harking back to Hattian religion can serve only to reinforce the theory of the particularly chthonic nature of that religion.

MYTH AND RITUAL

The first thing we must emphasize in this section is that, so far as our documentary information about Hittite religion is concerned, myth and ritual are inseparable. We are in the peculiar position of having available only those myths which happened to be written down in connection with ritual. This can only be seen as a major disadvantage. As any student of mythology will be aware, there may be a great richness of myth alive in the minds of a people which has nothing whatsoever to do with any ritual of the cult.

We have no idea of Hattian cosmogony or cosmology, with only tantalising glimpses such as the 'nine seas' (26) of which we otherwise know nothing. Gods dwelt in heaven, but they also dwelt in the earth, and indeed could dwell in rivers, valleys, or anywhere else. See the *Evocatio* ritual, of which there are various examples, both as separate texts and as part of larger myth/ritual texts (27).

The Hurrian myths of *Kingship in Heaven* and *Kumarbi*, which are well known, were indeed written down in their own right, but these are part of an entirely separate tradition, very strongly influenced by the myths and literature of Mesopotamia and the Levant, with which we are not here concerned (28).

The indigenous myths of Anatolia which we shall be looking at fall mainly into two categories: the Struggle with the Dragon, of which there is only one example in two forms - an earlier and a later; and the Disappearing God, of which there are various examples, involving an assortment of gods. The Disappearing God myth, as we shall see, is a completely different type from the Dying God of the Levant, Egypt and Mesopotamia. Indeed it is not necessarily a seasonal myth at all, expressing not so much the difficult turn of the seasons as the difficulties in general life caused by the voluntary departure of the god.

Two of the myths in particular, the Dragon Combat and the Telepinu 'Disappearing God' myth are well known, often translated and much discussed. We shall be looking also at the myth of the disappearance of the ^DU/IM, which closely parallels the Telepinu myth, as do other very fragmentary examples, and the rather different and particularly interesting myth of the ^DU of Nerik.

Firstly we shall look at the Illuyanka story. This tale is couched in the ritual of the *purulli* festival at Nerik. This festival was not celebrated in only one place

or for one god. Although its particular association - as far as we know - was with one or other ^DU, it could also be celebrated for the underworld deity Lelwani (29).

The text we possess (30) was written down by one Killa, a ^{LU}GUDU - 'Anointed Priest' of the ^DU of Nerik (31). It concerns the ^{IM}nepišaš (of Heaven) (32). The first version (the earlier) also involves the goddess Inara, elsewhere stated to be the daughter of the ^{IM} (33).

The beginning is an imprecation for the prosperity of the land, upon which depends the performance of the *purulli* festival (5 - 8), and then the story unfolds.

The ^DIM and the Dragon (34) come to blows (35) in Kiškilušša and the ^DIM is worsted (9 - 11). He then beseeches all the gods to help. Inara is to prepare a feast (EZEN) (12 - 14). Everything is done grandly, large vessels of wine, *marnuwan* and *walḫi* (36) are filled (15 - 18). Inara then proceeds to Zigaratta where she meets Ḫupašiya, who is mortal (19 - 20). She tells him there is something she wants to do, and he is to help (21 - 23). Ḫupašiya replies he will do it if Inara will sleep with him, which she does (24 - 26). Inara takes Ḫupašiya and hides him, adorns herself and calls the Dragon up from his hole, saying she is holding a feast, he is to come, eat and drink (KBo III 7 21 - KUB XVII 5 I 8). The Dragon comes up with his children and eats and drinks, they drink every vessel and get drunk (9 - 12). Now they can no longer go back down to their hole and Ḫupašiya comes and binds the Dragon with a rope (13 - 16). The ^{IM} comes and kills the Dragon and the gods are with him (17 - 18). Inara builds a house on a mountain in the country of Tarukka. She makes Ḫupašiya stay in the house and tells him when she goes to the country he is not to look out of the window or he might see his wife and children (14 - 22). After 20 days he looks out of the window and sees his wife and children (23 - 24). When Inara comes back from the country he asks to go home (25 - 27). Thereafter the text becomes fragmentary. It is evident that the man would come to a sticky end. (KBo II 3 II 9 - 14) Inara returns to Kiškilušša and places her house (of the) flood in the hand of the king, since that time they have celebrated *purulli*. Zalianu (37) is the first of all, she apportions rain for Nerik. The sceptre-bearer offers NINDA ḫarši (38) (21 - 24). Zalianu asks for rain (25). The next few lines are fragmentary and then there is a lacuna till the start of the next version.

According to the later version the Dragon defeated the ^DU and took away his heart and eyes (KUB XII 66 III 2 - 5). The ^{IM} marries the daughter of a poor man and has a son who marries the daughter of the Dragon (KBo III 7 III 4 - 8). The ^{IM} tells his son to ask for his heart and eyes when he goes to his wife's house (9 - 12). When he goes he asks for the heart and it was given to him and later he asks for the eyes and these were also given to him. Then he takes them to his father and the ^{IM} takes

his heart and eyes back (13 - 19). When his body regains its former healthy condition he goes to the sea to do battle and in the battle the ^DIM is defeating the Dragon when his son, who is with the Dragon, calls up to Heaven to his father (20 - 28). 'Take me with him, do not spare me', and the ^DIM kills the Dragon and his son (29 - 32). The next three lines are fragmentary. There is the beginning of the formula - 'Thus speaks (UM.MA) Kella ... ' followed by another lacuna.

The fourth tablet describes the ritual. They make the first of the gods last and the last first (KUB XII 66 IV 1 - 4). A great offering of food is made to Zalinuiš. Zalinuiš is the wife of Zašḫapuna and is greater than the ^DU of Nerik (5 - 7). The gods speak thus to the 'Anointed Priest' Taḫputalli: 'When we come to the ^DIM of Nerik, where shall we sit?' (4 - 7). Taḫputalli's reply is concerned with the stone throne. The 'Anointed Priest' who holds Zalinuiš (39) sits on the stone throne over the water (8 - 13). The gods arrive and ?compete (40). Zašḫapuna of Kaštama is the greatest of all the gods (14 - 17) because Zalinuiš is his wife and Tazzuwašši is his concubine. The three of them then settle in Tanipiya (18 - 21). The rest of the text describes the estate given to the gods by the king, followed by the colophon.

The function of *purulli* as a festival to restore the powers of good/order over evil/chaos is obvious, and its prime importance in the Hittite Kalendar readily able to be understood. Of particular interest is the importance of the mountain goddess, and her throne over the water. We shall demonstrate further the relation between the ^DU and mountains (his connection with water is central to this enquiry) and the placing of the mountain over the water in a ritual of the ^DU/IM must seem especially significant.

We know that Nerik was by Mt. Ḫaḫarwa, near a river, and on a spring (its exact location being the subject of much speculation [41]) and this ritual description may be a translation of actual geographical fact into myth.

These two versions of a myth of primary importance to the Hittites are remarkably simple. The earlier, indeed, seems to describe the adventure of a folk hero rather than a major god. Their function, however, in the restoration of order and the reinforcing of the authority of the king is unimpaired by this. We cannot, unfortunately, know what time period elapsed between the 'earlier' and the 'later' versions, and what outside influence may have been brought to bear upon the second version, with its correspondences with later myth e.g. in Hesiod. If the first version seems familiar it is because the type of tale it tells is fairly universal.

We possess only one myth that retains its original Hattian version. It does not, unfortunately, throw much light on the nature of the ^DU. It is *The Moon that fell from Heaven*, which exists in a bilingual Hittite/Hattian

text (42). In the first line of the ritual it states that it was told 'when the ^DU thunders', and the ritual is conducted by the functionary known as the LÚ ^DU - the Man of the ^DU.

The Moon-god fell from Heaven, and the ^DU (43) sent rains after him and frightened him. Ĥapantaliya went and spoke to him. Kamrušepa (^D44) saw that the Moon-god had fallen from Heaven. The ^DU saw him and sent rains and wind after him and frightened him.

The ^DU, we assume, is the hero of the hour and frightens the Moon into returning to the sky. In the ritual offerings are made to him, and also to the thunder, the clouds, and the rain.

All that we can glean from this very primitive tale is that the ^DU rules the rain, the wind, and the clouds, and appears in this instance to be the supreme god. Fragments of the end of the myth suggest he ensures well-being for the Labarna (46), the king.

There are many versions of the Disappearing God tale: Telepinu; the ^DU; the ^DU of Nerik; the 'Yuzgat Tablet' - in which several gods, the Sun-god, ZABABA, and Telepinu disappear; Inara, Anzili and Zukki (goddesses). These tales are, to quite a large extent, standardised. We shall be concerned with those that deal with the ^DU.

The god frequently has the same symptoms on departure (putting his right shoe on his left foot, and his left shoe on his right - Telepinu, KUB XVII 10 I 3; the ^DIM/^DU of Queen Ašmunikal, KUB XXXIII 18 I 9; the ^DIM of Kuliwišna, KBo XIV 86 + KUB XXXIII 17 + KBo IX 109 I 12). The results of his departure are much the same - the oppression and stifling of living things, fog, the inhibition of birth, neglect, the gods eat and drink but cannot be satisfied - these things being remedied on the god's return.

Telepinu: KUB XVII 10 5 - 10, fog took the windows and smoke the house, 'oppression'/'stifling' of the fire and the gods on the altar, of sheep and cattle, neglect by both of their young. 14 - 15, crops cease to grow, humans and animals cease to breed, those who are pregnant do not give birth. 16 - 18, trees dry up and do not shoot, springs dry up, gods and men are hungry. 19 - 20, the Sun-god gives a feast and invites the thousand gods, they eat but cannot be satisfied and drink but cannot be satisfied.

^DU: KUB XXXIII 24 I 3, fog. 4 - 7, oppression of fire, gods on the altar, sheep and cattle. 7, neglect by sheep and cattle of their young. 10 - 11, grain ceases to grow. 11 - 13, cattle, sheep and man do not breed, those who are pregnant do not give birth. 14 - 15, mountains, vegetation and springs dry up. 17 - 18, the Sun-god gives a feast and calls the thousand gods, they eat and drink but cannot be satisfied.

^DIM of Ašmunikal: KUB XXXIII 15 11, fog/smoke took the window and the beams. 11 - 14 (very fragmentary)

oppression of the altar. KUB XXXIII 16 6 - 9, oppression of firewood, sheep and cattle. 11, they drink but are not satisfied.

^DU of Țarapšili (describes the return, and by implication the consequences of departure): KUB XXXIII 19 III 2 ff., fog leaves the windows, smoke leaves the house. The gods are set in order on the altar, the firewood is set in order, the sheep are set in order in the sheepfold and the cattle in the byre. They eat and are satisfied and drink and are satisfied.

^DIM of the scribe Pirwa: KUB XXXIII 32 II 4 f., the fog leaves the house; the firewood, the cattle, the sheep and the gods on the altar are set in order. III 4 - 5, (very fragmentary) the fog leaves the firewood, the smoke the house. They eat and are satisfied and drink [and are satisfied].

The Discovery and Return of a ^DIM/U: KUB XXXIII 34 ?obv. 13 ff., the fog left the windows, the male and female slaves are put in order, in the byre [the cattle] ditto. They drink and are satisfied, the child finds favour with its mother.

The ^DIM of Kuliwišna: KBo XIV 86 + KUB XXXIII 17 + KBo IX 109 I 13 - 16, smoke took the windows, fog took the house, the firewood, cattle, sheep and the thousand gods on the altar were oppressed. 17 - 19, the Sun-god gave a feast and called the thousand gods. They ate and were not satisfied and drank and were not satisfied.

In some versions the eagle and the bee are sent after the recalcitrant deity.

Telepinu: KUB XVII 10 I 23 ff., the Sun-god sends the eagle to search the high mountains, the deep valleys and the dark waves, but the eagle does not find him. 34 f., ȚannaȚanna sends the bee to look for him. KUB XXXIII 5 II 4 f., the bee is to sting Telepinu on his hands and feet, take wax, wipe it on his eyes and hands (KUB XXXIII 9 II 5) to purify him, and bring him back. KUB XXXIII 10 II 4, the bee finds him in LiȚzina.

^DU: KUB XXXIII 24 I 23 ff., the swift eagle is sent to search the high mountains, the deep valleys and the dark waves, but he does not find the ^DIM *nepišaš* (of Heaven). 48, ȚannaȚanna sends the bee. In each of these cases the ^DIM is sceptical about the bee's capabilities.

KUB XXXIII 33 gives a fragment of the search for a ^DIM in which it is nonetheless the same formula: the swift eagle searches the high mountains and the dark waves unsuccessfully, then the bee, here also with the epithet 'swift' (NIM.LAL *liliwandaš*). The bee finds the god in the grove of LiȚzina.

Interestingly, some of the same formulae appear in a Palaic text (KUB XXII 18) - the Sun-god calls, they eat and are not satisfied and drink and are not satisfied

(8 - 11). There may be mention of an eagle, and the town of Lihzina is certainly named. The text is not well understood, but this mythic fragment bears witness to a common Anatolian tradition (47).

In the major versions it is Hannaḥanna (48) who institutes the final and successful search. (It is notable that the goddesses are the ones who get things done, cf. Inara in the Illuyanka myth. This is an illustration of the importance of the goddess in Anatolia from the earliest times to the classical period.)

The myth of the DU of Nerik is the only one which falls quite outside this very strong pattern. The myths of Telepinu and the DIM (of Heaven) we shall go through. The lesser 'myths', while indicating the universality of the DU contain little more than the formulae just detailed, and appropriate ritual (where the text is sufficiently complete) to ensure the god's good favour towards the king and queen, embodying of course the state, or the individual.

TELEPINU

It may be well here to point out why the Telepinu myth is being^D considered so closely in conjunction with those of the ^DU.

The change in understanding of the nature and role of Telepinu is set forth by Güterbock (49). He was at first generally assumed to be a vegetation god of typical Near-Eastern type, although his myth is quite different in important respects from those of Tammuz, Ba'al or Osiris. A more careful study, however, reveals the very close correspondences between Telepinu and the type of the ^DU. Haas has also charted these correspondences in some detail (50).

The close similarities between the myths of the ^DU and Telepinu we have already touched on. It must be emphasized that although vegetation suffers, so does every aspect of life. It is significant that the springs dry up, both in the case of Telepinu and the ^DU (51). There are other correspondences. Telepinu and the ^DU of Nerik are sons of the ^DU (52). The Sun-goddess of Arinna is the mother of the ^DU of Nerik and Telepinu is associated with her (53). They are both ^D associated with Mt. Hulla, a 'beloved place' of the ^DU of Nerik (54). The places which are ^D to be searched are, as we have seen, likely haunts of a ^DU: high mountains, deep valleys and the dark waves. Telepinu is found by the bee at Lihzina, which is a cult place of the ^DU (55). Telepinu returns with thunder and lightning and the dark earth is disturbed (56) - part of the possible character of the ^DU. Güterbock lists spring and autumn festivals (characterised by the use of the ^Dharši-vessel), in which various ^DUs and deified springs are prominent (57), which include Telepinu along with ^DUs. Finally, it must be significant that the LÚ ^DU appears in the cult of Telepinu (58). Haas compares the role of the ^DU and Telepinu in guiding and protecting the king (59).

All this leads us to the obvious conclusion that Telepinu must be considered along with the ^DUs. The problem remains that, while the others are never referred to by name in a Hittite context - that we can be sure of (Taru appears in Hattian texts), yet Telepinu is always mentioned by name. This may denote some essential difference, not yet clearly visible. The myth of his disappearance, nevertheless, is being^D considered along with the ^DU myths as part of the same ^DU tradition.

There is another brief tale about Telepinu, in which he marries the daughter of the sea (emphasising the

connection between the ^DU-type and water?) (60). Elsewhere his wife is mentioned as Ḥatepuna (61).

As for the rest of the Telepinu myth (62), after he has departed in anger with such disastrous results, the ^DIM becomes worried about his son. The great gods and the small gods look for him. The Sun-god sends the eagle, without success, as we have seen. The ^DU asks Ḥannaḥanna what they will do - they will die of hunger, and she tells him to search for Telepinu himself so he begins to search. He tries the gate of his city but he is not there and does not open. The ^DIM breaks the bolt and lock without success, so he gives up and sits down to rest. Ḥannaḥanna now sends the bee. The ^DIM points out that the great and small gods have tried, how can the bee, which is small with small wings, succeed? Ḥannaḥanna, however, sends out the bee with its instructions. The bee searches the rivers and the springs, till its honey gives out. It then finds Telepinu in a meadow at Liḥzina, stings him on the hands and feet and wipes his eyes and feet with wax. It purifies him. Telepinu is furious at being roused from his sleep when he is in a rage. He stops the streams and diverts the rivers, making them flood, he destroys the buildings. He made men and sheep and cattle die, so that the gods are in despair. The next part is very fragmentary, but involves the mountain Ammuna and ?spring/?wood ḥattara. An eagle's wing is to be used to make him move.

The rest of the text describes the sympathetic magic used by Kamrušepa to induce Telepinu to return in the proper humour. Finally he does return and all is restored to normality and prosperity, and Telepinu cares for the king and queen, giving them long life and health.

The myth of the ^DIM of Heaven (62) is in many respects very similar indeed, and the very fragmentary opening lines are restored from the Telepinu myth. First the dire state of things is described. The ^DIM went away to a meadow in the country, so that grain does not grow, animals and humans do not conceive etc., mountains, woods, shoots, pastures and springs dry up. The Sun-god prepares his unsuccessful feast and the ^DIM tells the gods that his son is gone, he became angry and took away growth and prosperity. The eagle is sent out (64) without success. The father of the ^DIM goes to the ^DIM's grandfather and says 'who sinned so that the seed died and everything dried up?' and the grandfather says 'no-one sinned, but you alone sinned'. The father of the ^DIM says 'I did not sin', but the grandfather says 'I shall investigate the matter and kill you, now go and search for the ^DU'. The father of the ^DIM goes to Ḥannaḥanna of the Gulšeš (65) and she asks why he has come. He explains that the ^DIM was angry and everything dried up and the ?seed died, and what the grandfather had said; he asks what to do, what happened? Ḥannaḥanna tells him not to be afraid. If he sinned she will make it all right, and if he did not sin she will make it all right. She tells him to go and search for the ^DU, the

grandfather has not yet heard. The father of the ^DIM asks 'where shall I go to search?', Hanaḥanna says she will present the ^DIM, he is to go and bring the bee, and she will instruct it to look for him. The father of the ^DIM points out that the great gods and the small gods searched and did not find him, will the bee now go? Its wings are weak and it is weak. The rest is broken. There is the beginning of the sentence 'Hanaḥanna says ...'. Presumably she answers his objections, the bee finds the ^DIM and awakens him. Later the ritual is preserved, which is in part conducted by the king, to induce the ^DIM to return, and allay his wrath. The final section describes the restoration of normality and prosperity. The ^DIM cares for the king and queen and takes account of them for life and strength for eternity.

The similarity of these myths with the repetition of the formulae is very striking. We are obviously dealing with a standard expression of desolation on the departure of the god. His nature will not easily conform to hitherto assumed identities: 'vegetation god' or 'weather god'. These myths have not at all a seasonal character.

Important phrases are those expressing the destruction in terms of drying up e.g. Telepinu 16 ff.; ^DIM 14 f.; the places the eagle must search - the valleys, the mountains, the water - as we have seen; when the bee finds Telepinu (after searching the water) he turns on the springs and rivers in his anger (KUB XXXIII 10 6 ff.) and so on.

Now there are other stated effects of the god's disappearance - inhibition of birth, 'oppression' and the other problems that we have noted. It may be that in these cases there has been an expansion from the particular destruction of drought, to the general destruction of life in all its aspects. Bad times could be given mythic explanation in this way. Our extant examples include the two major myths, also those of two queens, two cities, and a scribe - an interesting variety. They may be understood in terms of local drought - Macqueen (66) suggests that Pirwa's problem was the drying up of his well. Otten (67), however, suggests that Queen Ašmunikal's problem may have been childlessness, although childlessness could perhaps be seen as a kind of drought.

All these variations on a theme are not, however, as specific as we might wish, and we can now turn to the only other extant ^DU myth - that of the ^DU of Nerik. This is different in content, although not in intent, from the others: the god has disappeared and must be induced to return. It is the one myth which makes the character of a ^DU unequivocally clear. As it has not, to my knowledge, received a complete translation into English (68), it may be well to append one here, with my transcription.

THE MYTH OF THE ^DU OF NERIK

KUB XXXVI 89

- 1) *ma-a-an* ^DU ^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik* URU [*i-ia-an-ni-ia-*] *an-za na-an*
URU *Ne-e-ra-za* URU *La-al-la-za*
 - 2) *kiš-an an-da-an ḫal-zi-i-a-an-zi* [. (69) ^{LÜ}]
GUDÚ ^{URU}*Ne-e-ra* URU *La-al-la-a pa-iz-zi*
 - 3) *nu-kan* I UDU ^DU ^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik* BAL-[*an-ti* III (70) UDU.ḪI.A
A]-NA ^DEREŠ.KI.GAL ^DÚ-*ru-zi-mu-ia*
 - 4) DINGIR.MEŠ *uk-tu-r[i-i]a-aš-ša* BAL-*an-ti* UDU.ḪI.A-*kan*
ḫa-at-te-eš-ni GAM-*an-da ḫu-u-kan-zi*
-
- 5) III NINDA.KUR₄.RA V-*li-eš* XX NINDA.KUR₄.RA XX-*li-eš* XX
NINDA.KUR₄.RA XXX-*li-eš* BA.BA.ZA *par-ku-iš* (erasure)
NINDA.KUR₄.RA
 - 6) *ku-iš-ša* UD.SAR-*aš* DÙ-*an-za* III DUG *wa-al-ḫi* III DUG
mar-nu-wa-an ^{LÜ}AGRIG ŠA ^{URU}*Ta-ku-up-pa-ša pa-a-i*
 - 7) III DUG GEŠTIN LÜ.MEŠ ZABAR.DIB SUM-*an-zi šu-up-pa*
ze-ia-an-da-za ḫu-e-ša-wa-za ti-an-zi
 - 8) NINDA.KUR₄.RA *par-ši-ia-an-zi* BI.IB.RI.ḪI.A-*kan šu-u-*
an-zi nu-kan INIM-*an* III-ŠÚ *an-da me-ma-i*
 - 9) NINDA.KUR₄.RA-*kan* KAŠ GEŠTIN NIG.GIG *te-pa-u-wa-za*
ḫa-at-te-eš-ni GAM-*an-da iš-ḫu-u-wa-a-i*
 - 10) *nu-kan* ^{LÜ}GUDÚ *ha-at-te-es-ni* GAM-*an-da* III-ŠÚ *u-i u-i*
pu-ru-ša-el pu-ru-ša-el ḫal-za-a-i
 - 11) *nu-kan* INIM-*an an-da nam-ma me-ma-i*
-
- 12) ^DU ^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik-wa-za-kan* ša-a-*it nu-w[a-ra-aš-kan]*
ḫa-at-te-eš-ni GAM-*an-da pa-a-it*
 - 13) *nu-wa-ra-aš-za na-na-ku-uš-ši-ia-an-ti* [IV *ḫal-ḫal-tu-*
ma-ri-ia] *an-da A-NA* DUMU.MEŠ <A> -*ME-LU-UT-TI*
 - 14) *iš-ḫa-nu-wa-an-ti iš-ḫar-wa-a[n-ti li-li-iš-ki-it* ^{URU}
N]e-ri-ik-ki-wa-kan DUMU ^DŠu-*li-kat-ti*

- 15) A-NA ^DU AN.E ša-ku-wa-[ša-ra-az-za e-eš-ta nu-wa-ra-aš-ka]n ^{NA4}pi-ru-nu-uš-wa ar-ra-ar-aš
- 16) nu-wa-ra-aš-kan A-NA [^ILa-par-na LUGAL-i (71) ^{SAL}Ta-wa-an-na-an-na SAL.LUGAL-ri] mi-ia-tar TI-tar MU.ĤI.A
GÍD.DA
- 17) ^DU ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik DINGIR/an[
-
- 18) ḫal-zi-ia-an-du-wa-ra-[an]
x-wa-za-kan ^{GE6}-i KI-pi na-a-ú
- 19) ú-id-du-wa-ra-aš [. ^{GE6}-aš]
KI-aš ^{GIŠ}KÁ.GAL.ĤI.A a-pa-ši-el ḫi-eš-du
- 20) pi-ra-an-wa-aš-ši-ia [.]-ra-an-kan UGU ^{GE6}-ia-za KI-za (erased)
- 21) ^DU ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik [. ú-i]d-du
- 22) ^DZA.BA₄.BA₄ ^{URU}[.]-za ma-ni-ia-aḫ
- 23) ú-id-du-wa-ra-aš [.]ĤI.A
^ la-la-a-ma pi-ra-an ar-nu-ud-du
-
- 24) ka-a-ša-wa-ta ḫal-zi-eš-ša-i ḫal-zi-ia-u[wa-an-zi ú-id]-du-aš ^{MUŠEN}šu-ra-aš-šu-ra-aš
- 25) nu-wa-ra-an iš-[ta]-ma-aš A-NA ^DÚ-ru-un-te-mu-w[a i-it (72) iš-t]a-ma-aš-wa-ra-at
- 26) ŠÀ-ši-wa-ra-za-at [] pi-e-da na-ak-ki-ia-iš-wa-kan ^{ÍD}[Ma-ra-aš-š]a-an-ta-za par-ki-ia
- 27) [ta]-ra-an-du-wa-[aš-š]i DUMU ^DŠu-li-kat-ti na-na-ku-uš-ši-ia-[an-ta]-za IV ḫal-ḫal-tu-ma-ra-za
- 28) ḫa[l-l]u-u-wa-za ḫu-[u]-un-ḫu-e-eš-na-za UGU EGIR-pa-wa-[za ^{URU}Ne-ri-i]k-ki an-da-an ne-i-ia
- 29) [nu-wa-kan ^ILa-par-na-a]n LUGAL-un ^{SAL}Ta-wa-na-an-na-an SAL.LUGAL-[an ^{SIG5}-it IGI.ĤI.A-it] an-da a-ú
- 30) [ki-e]-da-ni-wa UD.KAM-ti ḫa-aḫ-ḫu-wa-an-zi ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik e-ḫu
- 31) [an-da]-wa-ra-aš ti-[ia]-at-[du] ^DU ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik ^DÚ-[ru-un-te-mu-i]a ḫal-wa-aš-na-al-li-in-wa-za
- 32) [ZI]-an pi-ra-an [ar-ḫa] e-ep-du nu-wa-kan [e-ḫu kar-pi-in (73)]-wa a-pi-ia ar-ḫa tar-ni
-

- 53) [nu-ka]n INIM-an [an-da nam-ma-me-ma-i]
^{LÚ}GU]DÚ-kan ħa-at-te-eš-n[i
 54) [an]-da ħa-at-[ti-li ħal-za-i]x-za
 ar-ħa
 55) [.] te-pu da-[a-i]
 i-ia-an-ni-an-zi
 56) [.]x-ma-at-kan [.]
 ku-iš-ki a-pi-[ia]-ten
 57) [.] -pi? a-

- 58) [.]x[. t]a-li-ia-zi
 59) [.] MA-TUM ħa-x[
 60) [.]
 . .]x I UP-NI GEŠTIN[
 61)
 62) [.]
 GAM-an x[
 63) [.]x[

(Rest of obverse broken)

REVERSE

- 1) [A-NA DUMU.MEŠ A-ME-LU-UT-TI (76) i]š-ħa-nu-wa-an-ti
 iš-ħar-wa-an-ti li-li-[iš-ki-it
 2) [^DU ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik-ma-aš-kan] DINGIR-LIM pi-ra-an ú-i-ri-
 te-es-ta NINDA har-ši iš-[pa-an-tu-uz-zi (77)
 3) [. .]x-ru-li-pu-x-x-[. .]-at-ta na-aš-kan ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik-
 qa-za É ka-ni
 4) [^{GIŠ}da]-ħa-an-qa-za ar-ħa [i-ia-a]n-ni-eš a-ru-na-aš-
 ša-aš IX-aš wa-ap-pu-ú-i GAM-[an pa-a-it
 5) [na-ak-k]i-ia-ša-aš ÍD-[aš wa-ap-pu]-wa-as kat-ta-an
 pa-a-it ^DÚ-ru-zi-mu-za[
 6) [^{GIŠ}BAN]ŠUR.ĤI.A GAD-za x[. . . . (78) IZ]KIM-ši
 MUŠEN šu-ra-aš-šu-ra-aš ħal-zi-ia-u-wa-an-z[i ú-id-du

- 7) [A]-NA^DUTU AN.E ta-ra-[an-du-wa-at nu-w]a-kan DUMU^DUTU^{URU}TÚL-ia DUMU.MEŠ LU.MEŠ <A-ME> -LU-UT-T[I
- 8) [a]-ru-ni-wa-ra aš šal-li-[ik-ta] ^DU-wa-kan ŠÀ-za ša-ku-wa-aš-ša-ra-za
- 9) [n]e-pi-ši GAM-da-an [u-it (79) . . . ^D]U LU.MEŠ-LU-an ħar-qa-an-na te-e-it
- 10) ^DÚ-ru-un-te-mu-u[n (80)] ni-ni-ik-ta
-
- 11) zi-ik-ma-wa ^{ÍD}[Ma-ra-aš]-ša-an-[ta-aš A-N]A^DU^{URU}Ne-ri-ik ZI-ni ma-ni-in-ku-w[a-an-za
- 12) ^{ÍD}Ma-ra-aš-ša-an-ta-aš-wa an-na-al-la-za ^Ài-pa-at-tar-ma-ia-an a-ar-ša-aš
- 13) ^DU-aš-ma-wa-ra-an wa-aḫ-nu-ut nu-wa-ra-an ^DUTU-i DINGIR-LIM-an ar-ša-nu-ut ^{URU}Ne-ri-[ik-ki-wa-ra-an
- 14) ma-an-ni-in-ku-wa-an ar-ša-nu-ut nu ^DU-aš A-NA ^{ÍD}Ma-ra-aš-ša-an-ta te-e-it
- 15) ma-a-an-wa-kan ^DU^{URU}Ne-ri-ik ku-iš-ki kar-ti-mi-ia-nu-zi nu-wa-ra-aš-kan
- 16) ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik-qa-za ^{GIŠ}da-ḫa-an-qa-za ar-ḫa i-ia-an-[ni-ia]-zi zi-ik-ma-wa-ra-an
- 17) ^{ÍD}Ma-ra-aš-ša-an-ta-aš tam-mi-e-da-ni ^{ÍD}-i tam-[mi-e]-da-ni TÚL-i li-e tar-na-at-ti
-
- 18) ^DU AN.E-wa ^{ÍD}Ma-ra-aš-ša-an-ta te-e-it li-en-ki-i[a-wa]-ta e-eš-du
- 19) nu-wa-za-kan a-ar-ša-nu li-e wa-aḫ-nu-ši nu-za-kan ^{ÍD}[Ma-ra-aš-ša-a]n-ta-aš ar-ša-nu
- 20) Ú-UL wa-aḫ-nu-ut šu-um-ma-ša-at DINGIR.MEŠ i-ia-at-te-en [. . .] tal-li-ia-du
- 21) ^DU^{URU}Ne-ri-ik ^{ÍD}Na-ak-ki-li-ia-ta-aš a-ru-na-za-an [ḫu-un-ḫu-eš-n]a-za GAM-an ar-ḫa [ú-wa-te-it-du
- 22) IX-ga-an wa-ap-pu-wa-za GAM-an ar-ḫa ú-wa-te-it-du [. Na-ak-ki]-li-ia-ta-za-[an
- 23) wa-ap-pu-wa-za GAM-an ar-ḫa ú-wa-te-it-du [.
^{UR}]U^UNe-ri-ik
- 24) ^DU AN.E ŠÀ-za-ši-kan ZI-za ki-i da-a [.
. . .]x[

- 25) *ga-ra-uš* SAG.KI.ĤI.A *na-na-ku-uš-š*[i
 26) ^A*ma-ar-wa-tar-ni-ma-za an-da*[
 27) ^D_U ^{URU}*Ne-ri-ik* x x[
 28) *tu-uk* x x[
 29) *a-ru-na-an* x[
 30) ^{GIŠ}*da-ḥa-qa-an*[
 31) DINGIR.MEŠ-*za-aš-ta* [.]
 . . .]x
 32)
 33) [.]
x-ta
 34) [.]-*un-te-*
mu-na
 35)
 36) [.]-*na* ^{SAL}
Ta-wa-na-na-aš-ša
-
- 37) [.] *Ne-ri-ik* EN-[IA] *da-ḥa-an-*
tu-ri-ia-za
 38) [.] x ^D_{UTU} ^{URU}*TÚL AMA-KA* ^D_U AN.E [A-BU-KA . .
 .]-*an-zi ḥa-aḥ-ḥu ku-wa-pi* (81) *iš-tam-ma-aš-ša-zi*
 39) [*kar-az-za-š* (82)]*i-kan an-da ḥal-wa-at-na-az-za-i me-*
li-ia-at-ta-ri-ia-wa-ma-aš-kan an-da
 40) [^D_U ^{URU}*Ne*]-*ri-ik* ^{ÍD}*Na-ki-li-ia-ta a-aš-ša-u-wa i-li-eš-*
šar-ĤI.A pi-eš-ten
 41) [. . .]-*ta-wa-aš-kan* ^{ÍD}*as ar-ša-nu-wa li-e e-pu-ra-iz-*
zi KUR-e dan-na-at-ta-te-eš
 42) [*li-e*] *e-ep-zi dan-na-at-te-in li-e te-ši* ^I*La-par-na-*
aš-ta me-eš-ri-wa-za pi-ra-an GUB-ru
 43) [^D_U AN.]*E-ši i-li-eš-šar-ĤI.A SIG₅.MEŠ pa-a-i La-par-*
na-as KUR.KUR.ĤI.A tar-ra-u-wa
 44) [*li-e*] *te-pa-u-e-eš-zi KUR.KUR* ^{URU}*KÚ.BABBAR-wa šA* ^D_{UTU}
^{URU}*TÚL šA AMA-KA*
 45) [. .]x ^{SAL}*Ta-wa-na-na-aš* ^{LÚ}*SANGA šA AMA-KA a-aš-šu-wa-*
aš-ma-aš TI-tar te-e-it
 46) [*ḥar-ga*]-*tar-ma-wa ḥUL-la-u-wa IZKIM.ĤI.A* ^{LÚ}*KÚR-wa*
KUR.KUR.HI.A te-e-it KUR.KUR.HI.A ^{LÚ}*KÚR-wa ḥar-ak-du*
-

- 47) [^DU ^{URU}] *Ne-ri-ik* EN-IA ZI-ni-wa-ra-za-an-kan tar-ni
GIŠ *da-ḥa-qa-an* ^D *Da-ḥa-qa-ú-i-li-in*
- 48) [. .] DINGIR-LIM-wa na-ak-ki-eš ku-wa-pi kat-ta ti-an-
za DUMU.MEŠ LU.MEŠ-LU-ma-za ša-ak-ri-ia LUGAL-uš
- 49) [š*i-u-n*] i-ia-aš-ma-za KUR-e-aš ^I La-par-na-an LUGAL-un
pi-ra-an ^{LU} ma-ni-ia-ḥa-tal-la-an DÙ-at
- 50) an-da-an-kan SIG₅-ti-it IGI.ḪI.A a-ú La-par-na-an
LUGAL-un ^{SAL} Ta-wa-na-na-an SAL.LUGAL
- 51) DUMU.MEŠ LUGAL KUR.KUR ^{URU} ḥa-at-ti ku-e-da-ni-za-kan
UD.KAM-ti ^DÚ-ru-un-ti-pu-uš
- 52) GAD-an še-ir ar-ḥa da-a-i kan-qa- <an> -ši-kan ku-e
ne-pi-ša-za-aš-ta ú-it mi-eš
- 53) MUŠEN ^šu-ra-aš-š*u-ra-aš* ḥal-zi-ia-u-wa-an-zi ZI DINGIR-
LIM a-pa-a-aš ú-wa-te-it-du
- 54) ^DU-aš-wa-kan ^DUTU ^{URU} TÚL-na ne-pi-ša-za kat-ta mi-e-uš
ḥe-e-uš tar-ni-eš-du
- 55) nu-wa DUMU LU.MEŠ <A-ME> -LU-UT-TI SIG₅-ru A-NA DUMU.
MEŠ LU.MEŠ <A-ME> -LU-UT-TI-wa ḥa-at-tu-la-tar ḥal-
ki-eš-ta-ru DÚ-ru
-
- 56) ZI-ni-wa-ra-za-an-kan tar-ni ^{URU} *Ne-ri-ik-qa-an* URU-an
^D *Te-ši-mi-wa-kan a-aš-si-ia-an-ti*
- 57) gi-nu-wa ša-ru-iz-zi-uš ti-eš-ḥu-uš šu-up-pa-ri-ia-an-
za e-eš-ta
- 58) a-ra-a-i ^{URU} *Ne-ri-qa-aš* ^DU-aš ^D *Te-ši-mi-x-wa-ta* GEŠTIN-
aš mu-ri-eš
- 59) mi-li-it ma-a-an kan-kan-an-za
-
- 60) e-ḥu ^{URU} *Ne-ri-ik-qa-aš* ^DU-aš ne-pi-ši-za-kan GAM me-e-
uš he-e-uš ú-it
- 61) A-NA KUR.KUR.ḪI.A ^{URU} PA-ti La-par-na-ia LUGAL-i a-aš-
š*u* e-eš-du
- 62) [^I] ḥu-u-uz-zi-ia-aš LÚ ^DU ne-pi-ši ḥa-lu-qa-an tar-na-i
- 63) [k]a-a-ri-wa-mu ka-a-ri ^DU ^{URU} *Ne-ri-ik zi-ik-qa-wa-mu*
ka-a- <ri>
- 64) ne-pi-ša-aš ^DU-aš ^DU ^{URU} *Ne-ri-ik-ki-wa-aš-kan* ne-pi-
ša-za

65)

kat-ta SIG₅-in ú-wa-te

OBVERSE

When the ^DU of Nerik is [gone] from the city they pray to him thus in Nera and Lala The 'Anointed Priest' goes to Nera and Lala. He sacrifices one sheep to the ^DU and [three sheep] to EREŠKIGAL, to Uruzimu (83). He sacrifices to the eternal gods in a *hateššar* when they cast a spell. (1 - 4)

Three 'fiver' loaves of thick bread, twenty 'twentyer' loaves of thick bread, twenty 'thirtyer' loaves of thick bread, three BĀNs (84) of porridge, pure bread which they make into crescents, three jugs of *walḫi*, three jugs of *marnuwan* the steward takes to Takupaša. The cup-bearers place three jugs of wine, and meat cooked and raw. They break thick bread and fill the cups, then he says the incantation three times. They then throw down bread, beer, wine and guts in small quantities into the *hateššar*. Then the priest calls into the *hateššar* three times 'come, come, earth spirit, earth spirit' and furthermore he tells the myth: (5 - 11)

The ^DU of Nerik grew angry and went down into a *hateššar*. And [he disappeared] to the . . . [four corners (85) (i.e. of the earth)] from mankind, blood-flecked, blood-red. In Nerik the son of Šulikatte (86) [was] visible to the ^DU of Heaven and he shattered the rocks. And from [the Labarna, the king, and the Tawannanna, the queen] he took away increase, life and long years. The ^DU of Nerik . . . (12 - 17)

Let them call [him] from . . . let him come from the dark earth. Let him come . . . let him open the gates of the [dark] earth himself. Before him . . . up from the dark earth. The ^DU of Nerik . . . let him [come]. ZABABA (87) of the city of . . . let him govern. Let him come . . . let him bring forth the *lala* (88). (18 - 23)

See, he calls, to call on the *surassura*-bird (39) to come. And it hears him and [goes] to Uruntumu (90) - let her hear it! From the heart let it send 'Honoured one, raise yourself from the River [Marašš]anta (91)'. Let them say 'Son of Šulikatte, come up from the . . . four corners (of the world), from the deep wave, return again to [Nerik] and look [with favourable eyes] on [the Labarna] the king, and the Tawannanna, the queen. On this ^D day come to Nerik to . . . (92)' Let him enter and the ^DU of Nerik and U[runtemu] cast forth your bad temper, and leave [your anger] there. (24 - 32)

. . . the city . . . life,] strength, long years [give] to the lands, and abund[ance and prosperity]. The *d*ahanga (93) (?is) in a good place. [And] up the ^D[U of Nerik . . .].

[Leave] in your [heart the city of Nerik.] (33 - 36)

[Down] to y[our] mother . . . the word of my lady
[and] EREŠKIGAL . . . Come ^DU of Nerik, my lord. Let
Uruntemu [herself] open [the gates] of the dark earth.
Down . . . stone . . . adorned (?). Taru . . . and
EREŠ[KIGAL . . . adorn[ed]. [And] the ^DU of Ne[rik will
be favourable to the Labarna, the king, the Tawannanna, the
queen and the lands.] (44 - 47 very fragmentary) [He does]
not take [dow]n . . . he[ar] these words. He prospers . . .
whoever hea[rs]. (37 - 49)

Down . . . one mina. Thick bread (mad of) spelt . . .
cooked and raw. [Twenty] 'twentyer' loaves of thick bread
. . . he throws down. [And then furthermore he speaks]
the incantation. The 'Anointed Priest' [calls] into the
hateššar in Hatt[ic . . . He t[akes] a little . . . they
go. . . . who ever is there . . . (50 - 56)

Lines 57 - 62 are too fragmentary for any translation
and the remainder is broken away.

REVERSE

[He] disappeared [from mankind] blood-flecked, blood-
red. [The ^DU of Nerik] was afraid on account of the god.
Thick bread, wi[ne cask (?)]. . . . and from Nerik, from
the hon[oured] house, from the *daḥanga*, he went away. [He
went] down to the shores of the nine seas. He went down to
the [sho]res of the [hon]oured river. Uruzimu . . . He
c[overed] the tables with a cloth. [Let] the *šuraššura*-
bird [come] to call as a sign. (1 - 6)

[Let it] say to the Sun-god of Heaven and the son of
the Sun-goddess of Arinna, mankind . . . [He] neared the
sea. The ^DU [came] down from Heaven with a loyal heart
. . . The ^DU named mankind for destruction. Uruntemu . . .
raised him. (7 - 10)

And you, River [Marašš]a[nta] are near to the heart
of the ^DU of Nerik. Formerly the Maraššanta flowed in a
different course. The ^DU diverted it and made it flow, he
made it flow near Nerik. And the ^DU (94) said to the
Maraššanta, 'Whenever the ^DU of Nerik gets angry and goes
away from Nerik and the *daḥanga*, you, Maraššanta, do not
let him go to another river, or another spring'. (11 - 17)

The ^DU of Heaven said to the Maraššanta 'Be sworn, do
not turn your course'. And the [Marašš]a[nta] did not turn
its course. You the gods, did it. Let the River Nakkiliata
(95) call on the ^DU of Nerik. [Let it bring] him away from
the sea, from the [wa]ve (96) underneath, let it bring
him away from the nine river-banks underneath . . . N]er[ik].
^DU of Heaven, take this to your heart. (18 - 24)

Lines 25 - 36 are too fragmentary to translate.

[^DU of N]erik, [my] lord . . . from the *daḥanturiḡa* . . . the Sun-goddess of Arinna, your mother, and the ^U of Heaven [(your father) . . . When they hear the *ḡaḡḡu* (97) [a ?heart] full of anger . . . [^DU of N]erik and River Nakkiliata give good omens. The flow of the . . . -*tawa* river do not divert. The land will [not] become empty. Do not say empty. Let the Labarna stand forth splendidly. ^DU of Heaven give favourable omens. The ?woodlands of the king will [not] shrink. The land of the city of Ḥattuša, of the Sun-goddess of Arinna, of your mother . . . the Tawannanna, the priest of your mother spoke welfare and life. The enemy from enemy lands has spoken [des]truction and bad omens, let the enemy be destroyed! (37 - 46)

[^DU] of Nerik, my lord, leave in your heart the *daḡanga*, *Daḡangawili* (98). Once the revered . . . of the gods they put down, mankind . . . (99) the king, he will make the Labarna, the king, governor of the land of the [go]lds. Look with favourable eyes on the Labarna, the king, and the Tawannanna, the queen, the sons of the king and the land of Ḥatti. On that day Uruntipu (100) takes away the hanging cloth. Be mild, come from Heaven. <Let> the *šuraššura*-bird <come> to call, let it summon the heart of the god, ^DU and Sun-goddess of Arinna. Let soft rain come down from Heaven. Let mankind be well, for mankind make health and *ḡalkeštaru* (101). (47 - 55)

Leave in your heart Nerik, the city. On the beloved knees of Tešimi (¹⁰²) have sleep and the best dreams. Raise yourself, ^DU of Nerik. Tešimi is hanging like a cluster of grapes (as sweet) as honey. (56 - 59)

Come ^DU of Nerik. Come down with soft rain to the lands of Ḥatti. Let there be health to the Labarna, the King. Ḥuzziya, the Man of the ^DU, leaves the message in Heaven 'Give way to me, give way, ^DU of Nerik, give way to me. ^DU of Heaven bring the ^DU of Nerik down from Heaven in a good mood!'. (60 - 64)

We see instantly that we are not here dealing with anything remotely in the nature of what is normally understood by the term 'Weather-god'. The whole emphasis of the myth is on the underground, and on water, significantly, on *underground water*.

Certainly the ^DU is asked to supply rain, but this function seems to sit rather strangely on the rest of the text. It may be well to consider the point made by Robertson Smith (writing on the religion of the Semites) that 'a gods titular duties are not necessarily the absolute limit on his capabilities (not what a god has power to do, but whether I can get him to do it for me . . .)' (103). Water is water, wherever it comes from, and an extension of duties seems reasonable.

In the first version the ^DU withdraws, as the disappearing gods usually do, in anger. He goes down into a *hateššar*, which, as we have seen, will have been a pot-hole, or a spring. He is summoned by the ^{LU}GUDÚ, using the epithet *purušael* - 'earth spirit'. He is summoned up from the dark earth, from the four corners, from the deep wave (Haas translates *hunhuesššar* as 'spring'), from the River Marassanta. The sacrifice is made into the *hateššar*, the priest calls in Hattian into the *hateššar*. It is already clear that if this text had been discovered earlier the equation ^DU = storm-god would never have been made. The appealing interpretation is that the disappearance down the *hateššar* represents the drying up of a spring - not necessarily a seasonal phenomenon, we must remember, as we have seen in the first chapter.

The familial connections of the ^DU of Nerik are chthonic - his mother is Wurušemu/EREŠKIGAL, his father stated (in the first part of the text) to be Šulinkatte, equated with NERGAL, the underworld deity, god of pestilence and consort of EREŠKIGAL. The dread which might attend these two deities is not, however, a part of the character of the ^DU. He is seen as recalcitrant, rather than terrifying, and the return of his favour is besought for mankind, but especially the persons of the king and the queen, here given their ancient titles, Tabarna and Tawannanna (104).

We include here two examples of the kind of text known as *Evocatio*. The function of the *Evocatio* was to recall the departed god, as with so many of the texts we have just considered, but the principal interest lies in the enumeration of possible locations. The texts we are looking at are those for two ^DUs - KUB XXXVI 90, for the ^DU of Nerik, and KUB XXVIII 92, for the ^DU of Zaḫalukka. Taken together with the other evidence they provide good examples of the likely haunts of a ^DU.

EVOCATIO OF THE ^D_U OF NERIK

KUB XXXVI 90

- 1) [. . . ^D_U ^{URU}_{Ne}]-ri-ik EN-IA
- 2) [.]x ^D_{Za-aḥ-pu-na-aš}
- 3) [. . .]x[. . .] SAL-aš nu-kan A-NA ^D_U ^{URU}_{Ne-ri-ik}
- 4) [. .]x an-da MUŠEN GIM-an ša-ni-iz-zi-in
- 5) [ḥa-lu (105)]-ga-an ḥal-za-a-ú nu-kan ^D_U ^{URU}_{Ne-ri-ik}
- 6) [ša]-ni-iz-zi-ia-az te-eš-ḥa-az ša-ra-a
- 7) [a]r-nu-ut-du ú-id-du-wa-aš ^D_U ^{URU}_{Ne-ri-ik}
- 8) [n]e-pi-ša (106) -az da-ga-an-zi-pa-az
- 9) e-ḥu-wa ^D_U ^{URU}_{Ne-ri-ik} ṢI-E-IT ^D_{UTU}-aš
- 10) ŠÚ-A ^D_{UTU}-aš e-ḥu-wa ^D_U ^{URU}_{Ne-ri-ik}
- 11) ne-pi-ša-az ma-a-an-za ^D_U-ni A-NA A-BI-KA GAM-an
- 12) ma-a-an-ma-za da-an-ku-i da-ga-an-zi-pi
- 13) A-NA ^D_{EREŠ.KI.GAL} AMA-KA GAM-an
- 14) nu lu-uk-kat-ta UD.KAM-aš A-NA EZEN-KA e-ḥ[u
- 15) lu-uk-kat-ta-aš-kan UD.KAM-ti ^I_{Du-ut-ḥa-li-ia-an}
- 16) tu-e-da-aš a-aš-ši-ia-an-ta-aš pi-e-da-aš
- 17) ^{URU}_{Ḥa-ak-miš} ^{URU}_{Ne-ri-ik} AŠ-ŠUM ^{LÚ}_{SANGA-UT-TIM}
- 18) iš-kan-zi nu lu-uk-kat-ti UD-ti
- 19) A-NA EZEN-KA e-ḥu e-ḥu IŠ-TU ^{ḤUR.SAG}_{ḥa-aḥ-ru-wa}
- 20) tu-e-da-az a-aš-ši-ia-an-ta-za
- 21) tu-el NÍ.TE ZI-KA-ia ku-e-da-ni pi-di
- 22) [e]-ḥu IŠ-TU ^{ḤUR.SAG}_{Za-li-ia-nu} ^{ḤUR.SAG}_{ḥa-ar-pi (107)}
- ša (108) -za
- 23) [^{ḤUR.SAG}_D]a-ḥal-mu-na-z[a . ^{ḤUR}].^{SAG}_{I-da-ḥal-mu-na-za}
- 24) [^{ḤUR.SAG}_D]a?-ḥa?-x[. -za] ^{ḤUR.SAG}_{Ta-gur-ta-aš-[za}
- 25) [^{ḤUR.SAG}]ḥu-ul-la-za ^{ḤUR.SAG}_{Pu-uš-ku-ru-nu-wa-za}
- 26) [. .]x[. .] ^D_U ^{URU}_{Ne-ri-ik} EN-IA

REVERSE

- 27) [e-ḥu IŠ-TU] ḤUR.SAG.MEŠ-ni-it ḥu-u-ma-an-te-it
 28) [^DU ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik (109)] EN-IA [e-ḥu IŠ]-TU ḤUR.SAG.MEŠ
 -KA
-
- 29) [e-ḥ]u ^{ID}Ma-r[a-aš-ša-an-ta]-za
 30) tu-zu-ma-zu-wa-an-ta-za wa-ap-pu-wa-za
 31) e-ḥu ^{URU}za-al-pa-az a-ru-na-az-za erasure)
 32) e-ḥu IŠ-TU TÚL ^{URU}Ne-ri-ik tu-e-da-az
 33) a-aš-ši-ia-an-da-az e-ḥu ^{URU}Li-iḥ-ši-na-za
 34) IŠ-TU ḤUR.SAG Li-iḥ-ši-na-za [. . .] (erasure)
 35) e-ḥu IŠ-TU ṢI-E-IT ^DUTU-aš ŠÚ-A [^DUTU-aš]
 36) e-ḥu ḤUR.SAG Ku-wa-pi-ta-za e-ḥu IŠ-TU KUR UGU
 37) e-ḥu IŠ-TU KUR ŠAP-LI-TI KUR ^{URU}Ar-za-u-wa-za
 38) e-ḥu IŠ-TU [ḥu]r-ri KUR ^{URU}Kum-man-ni (erasure)
 39) ḥu-u-ma-an-d[a-az KU]R.KUR.MEŠ-za e-ḥu ^{IM}MAR.TU [^{IM}]
 SI
 40) ^{IM}GÀL.[LU ^{IM}KUR].RA IŠ-TU IV ḥal-ḥal-tu-ma[r-r]a-aš
 41) x[. . . . ḤUR].SAG ^{URU}ḥa-ak-miš
 42) [^DU ^{URU}Ne]-ri-ik IŠ-TU KUR.KUR.MEŠ x [.] -pi? KUR ^{URU}
 PA-ti
 43) [. . . . nu-z]a tu-el šar-ḥu-u[i EG]IR-an da-a-aš
 44) [.]x x an ku x[.] U-UL ta-a-ra-an
 45) [.] U-U[L . . .]x-kan
 46) [.] ku [.] ŠÀ-ta
 47) [.]x x eš x ša

(The rest is broken)

OBVERSE

. . . ^DU of Ne|rik, my lord . . . Zaḥapuna . . . woman.
 And to the ^DU of Nerik . . . within a bird as a good [mes]-
 sage let him call. Let the ^DU of Nerik wake up from a good
 dream. Let him come, the ^DU of Nerik, from Heaven, from
 the earth. Come, ^DU of Nerik, from Heaven if (you are) with
 the ^DU your father (or) if (you are) with EREŠKIGAL your
 mother. Come at daybreak to the festival. At daybreak they
 anoint Tudḥaliya concerning the priesthood of your beloved
 places, Ḥakmiš and Nerik. Come at daybreak to your festival.
 Come from Mt. Ḥaḥruwa (110), from your beloved, your self
 and your heart (are) in that place. Come from Mt. Zalianu,
 from Mt. Ḥarpiša, from Mt. Daḥalmuna, from [Mt. D]aḥa-, from
 Mt. Tagurta, from Mt. Ḥulla, from Mt. Puškurunuwa.
 REVERSE . . . ^DU of Nerik, my lord [come from] all moun-
 tains. [^DU of Nerik] my lord, [come f]rom your mountains.

[Com]e from the River Mar[aššant]a. from . . . (111),
 from the river-bank, come from Zalpa, from the sea, come
 from your beloved spring of Nerik, come from Liḥzina, from
 Mt. Liḥzina. Come from the west, come from the east. Come
 from Mt. Kuwapita, come from the Upper Country, come from
 the Lower Country, from the land of Arzawa. Come from
 Hurri, from the land of Kummani, [from] all lands. Come
 from the west wind and the north wind, from the south wind
 and the east wind, from the four corners of the world
 . . . moun]tain (?of) Ḥakmiš. [^DU of Ne|rik from the
 lands . . . of Ḥattuša. . . . of your ?river he took back

Lines 44 - 47 are too fragmentary to translate.

EVOCATIO OF THE ^DU OF ZAĤALUKKA

KUB XXVIII 92

- 1) . . -r]i? -x-e ^DUTU[
 - 2) IV-aš ĥal-ĥal-tu-ma-ra-aš [. .]x[
 - 3) nu-kan DUB.SAR DUB.SAR GIŠ LÚ ^DU
-
- 4) nu LÚ ^DU DINGIR-LAM an-da-an ĥal-za-i
 - 5) a-ša-a ^{URU}Ne-ri-ki-il te-ez-zi
 - 6) INIM.MEŠ an-da-an ĥal-zi-ia-u-aš tal-li-ia-[zi
 - 7) ŠA x x.RA la-al-la-a ^{HUR.SAG}ĥa-ĥar-[wa
 - 8) ^{HUR.SAG}zi-it-ĥa-ru-wa ^{ÍD}Da-ĥa-aš-ta
 - 9) ū INIM.MEŠ tal-li-ia-u-aš ŠA ^DZa-ĥa-l[i-qa
 - 10) da-pi DUB.SAR me-ma-a-i
-
- 11) DINGIR.MEŠ KASKAL-za TA NINDA.KUR₄.RA ĥu-u-it-ti-[ia-an-zi
 - 12) DINGIR.MEŠ-kan ŠA É DINGIR-LIM pi-da-an-zi[
 - 13) ar-ra-an-zi-aš iš-kan-zi na-aš-x[
 - 14) ta-ni-nu-wa-an-zi
-
- x x[

(Transcription by Haas)

. . . ? the Sun-god. The four corners (of the world)
D_U . . and the scribe, the scribe on wood, the Man of the
D_U . . . (1 - 3)

And the Man of the D_U calls in the god. 'Be present,
Neriker (112),' he says. He recites the words of the
calling . . . from Mt. Ĥaḥarwa, from Mt. Zitharunuwa, from
the River Daḥašta. He speaks the incantation of calling
of Zaḥalukka, all the tablet. (4 - 10)

They draw the gods from the road from thick bread.
They carry off the gods of the temple . . . They wash and
anoint them . . . and place them in order. (11 - 14)

The rest is broken.

With these texts may be mentioned the (very fragmentary) Hattian *Evocatio*, KUB XVIII 60, in which Taru is called from the spring and from the earth (113).

The correspondences between these rituals and, in particular, the myth of the ^DU of Nerik, are immediately clear. We notice that the ^DU is called in from mountains, from rivers, from the 'beloved spring' of Nerik. Very similar phrases appear - the four corners of the world appear in all three texts. 'If you are in Heaven with your father, or the dark earth with your mother EREŠKIGAL' appear in both the texts concerning the ^DU of Nerik.

If we wish to consider the ^DU as, principally, a water-provider, then these locations are right and proper - rivers and springs, of course, are expected. The close connection between the ^DU and mountains, which appears in these texts, the *purulli* text, and by implication in the others we have surveyed, should also be expected. We have already spent time considering the significance of ground water, with mountains as a part of this, but it is also true that melt waters could come from the high mountains and continental winters of north central Anatolia. It is a truism, of course, of mythology that mountains are the home of gods - but this does not necessarily imply that those gods should be sky gods. The god may dwell in or under the mountain rather than in clouds above it.

In general, the formalised rituals of which we have many examples are not of great help in establishing the nature of the ^DU. The basic elements of the rituals, that is, offerings, eating and drinking, some kind of 'entertainment' - e.g. the fight between the men of Hatti and the men of Maša (KUB XVII 35 III 9 - 15), wrestling (KUB XXV 23 II 7 f.) and many other examples - remain the same whatever god is being celebrated. Similarly the type of festival (spring, autumn, harvest, winter, month, and many more, some of which we understand, some whose meaning is still unclear) may be held for different gods. Even the thunder festival (EZEN KA x IM/*tetbešnaš*) may be held for the Sun-god of Heaven (114) as well as for various ^DUs (115).

There are one or two sidelights e.g.: the connection between the ^DU and mountains is illustrated by the EZEN HUR.SAG-*i pedummaš* (116), the festival of carrying the god to the mountain, celebrated for the ^DU of Maraš; the connection with springs is illustrated by the festival for TÚL.GAL (Great Spring), in which the cult statue is taken into the temple of the ^DU (117). There is an interesting ritual of the ^DU of Zaḫalukka (118) for the month-festival (EZEN ITU.KAM):

It is performed as follows when the month festival . . .

he celebrates, and the [calling] of the ^DU of Zaḫalukka. As follows: When the Sun-god of Heaven becomes warm, the priest of the ^DU of Zaḫalukka takes two moist loaves . . . two thick loaves of *tarna*-measure and [places (them)] in the *daḫanga*. He goes to the windows and breaks the th[ick] bread, and does not bring it away again. (3 - 9)

There is another reference to the king and queen going to the windows of the *ḫalentuwa* when the ^DU thunders (119) and these actions obviously reflect the cultic concern with the outdoors.

We have already mentioned the 'thunder vessel' (120). Into this offerings, e.g. bread, flour, beer, are poured in autumn, it is sealed, and then in spring 'when it thunders' the *ḫarši*-vessel is broken open again, and thereupon bread is made (possibly with the contents). If the ^DU were truly a storm-god then it would be expected that the rituals of the ^{DUG}*ḫarši* would be entirely his, but the very text quoted by Gurney (121) as showing a special connection with the ^DU (KBo II 7) includes other deities: Mt. Šidduwa (obv. 6 ff.); ^DU of Hurša (obv. 19 ff.); ^DUTU (rs. 1 ff.); ^DU of Ziyazi and Mt. Kenkališa (rs. 12 ff.); ^DU, Mt. Arnuwanta, Mt. Hurranašša, the White Mountain, the River Šikašika, the Spring Kummayani, the Spring Šiwana, the Spring Ḫašḫannari, and the Spring Ḫalwanna (rs. 29 ff.). All ^DU these tell us little about the connection between the ^DU and thunder, but a great deal about the connections between the ^DU and mountains, and springs. KUB XVII 35 does give *ḫarši*-vessel rituals for the ^DU (I 1 ff.) and the ^DU of Guršamašša (II 9 ff.) also for the Sun-goddess of the water - ^DUTU ME-E (II 14 ff.). Other texts are similar, the ^DU is celebrated, but also other gods, especially mountain and water gods.

Whatever the actual meaning of ^{DUG}*ḫarši*, be it 'thunder' or 'thick', the significance of the ritual is quite plain. The contents of the vessel surely represent the good things of the earth locked up over the winter and released again in spring. That release requires the water-providers: springs, mountains, rivers, and the ^DU. We do, therefore, learn from the texts describing the rituals of the ^{DUG}*ḫarši* something more of the nature of this deity type.

There is another trait we may perhaps detect in certain cult texts. That is a persistent element of territoriality, which forms a likely combination with the deification of water provision. This is exemplified in such texts as the AN.TAḪ.ŠUM festival (celebrated in spring) (122) and the *nuntariyašša*- (speed) festival (celebrated in autumn) (123). The journeys undertaken during these very long festivals have been the spur for discussion of Hittite geography (124, 125), but for our purposes the locations of the cities mentioned are not really material. It is the fact of their involvement by itself that is of interest. The suggestion that some of the ceremonies may

have taken place in Hattuša itself, in establishments maintained by various cities (126) does not invalidate the importance of their inclusion, for it is likely that an original itinerary did involve these cities, and that thereafter they had, at least symbolically, to be 'visited'. The establishment of possession of a locality by visiting it was not an uncommon practice (127), and these festivals would be readily understandable as a reinforcement of the power of the king. We may, however, in the light of all the other evidence, see something extra. There is a stage in the development of religious understanding when it is thought that a god can only be worshipped in his own locality (see Excursus). In view of the persistently local conception of the ^DU it is possible to see in these festivals an expression of territorial belief. (They were not, of course, celebrated solely for various ^DUs, but we speak of a general trait in Anatolian religion.) There are lesser examples - a cult text of Nerik describes the journey of a king and queen as part of the ritual (128). And on a yet smaller scale, but still part of the idea of proper place for ritual there are many examples of festivals celebrated in part in one place, then at the proper time in another: perhaps one day in the temple, on the next on the mountain, or by the river, or by a *huwaši* in a designated place.

Of themselves, none of these texts could constitute evidence, but when taken as a whole, with other texts which have been discussed, and bearing in mind always the continuing separate identity of each local ^DU, we may see a picture of Anatolian religion for a large part locked into the stage of development in which the local genius had to be recognized. (The striking parallel with aspects of early Ba'alism is briefly discussed in the Excursus.) That this local genius should be principally a water god, and that the water is not seen to come from the sky so much as from the ground should be adequately demonstrated.

The tutelage of the ^DU extends further, but it is natural that the god(s) providing the element on which all life depends should extend protection also to other areas. It is also natural that this role should develop with the development of an increasingly complex society - from farming village to empire - although it is striking that while the ^DU (especially of Hatti) and Telepinu may be invoked by the king along with the Sun-goddess of Arinna as lords of the land, yet there never developed a 'national god', no Marduk, or Jupiter (129). The greatest of the Hittite gods remain devoid of heroic characteristics. The myths we have surveyed have not become masterpieces of literary myth, such as the *Enuma Elish* or the Ba'al epic, but instead have a crude, almost folk-tale flavour - they have no grandeur. We may imagine that the same type of tale of the sulking petty god was told for very many of the local ^DUs, if not all, and it is only those of localities which gained importance, or of one of the type who gained for himself importance, which have come down to us. There

is no obvious reason why this should be so. One may perhaps suggest that the same strong local feeling which kept the individual ^DU cults in existence prevented a syncretisation, or the development of a new god, which might have led to one great national deity taking the place of the others.

There was, of course, the new god Tešub, but he is entirely a different case, and has no place in this chapter.

EXCURSUS

TERRITORIAL DEITIES IN EARLY HEBREW RELIGION

Any comparison between Anatolian and Levantine deities has tended to be between the Tešub figure and the Ba'al of Ugaritic epic. It may, however, be profitable to offer a certain comparison with the 'Elim and Ba'alim of early Hebrew religion. Although climatic and geological conditions are dissimilar there was still a stage of development of religious understanding, perhaps partway between animism and polytheism, which offers a parallel to Anatolian territoriality.

Generally, the 'Elim were nomadic in origin, and the Ba'alim came from the settled agricultural Canaanites, but they began to overlap. The 'Elim came gradually to move from being merely something supernatural to attaining the full status of godhead (See *Gen.* 31.13, where God specifies 'I am the 'El of Bethel', a territorial concept acceptable to the religious comprehension of the times.) When an 'El of a particular locality assumed distinct individuality and godhead he came to be considered as its owner, Ba'al. (This is the original meaning of Ba'al. The meaning generally given, 'lord', obviously follows from this.) Indeed all ground naturally irrigated without man's intervention was regarded as the Ba'al's land.

The belief in territorial deities became accepted (in Canaan there were both male, Ba'al, and female Ba'alath). The Ba'al was responsible for the fertility of his particular patch of earth. There was never any suggestion that either 'Elim or Ba'alim came from above ground, but from below ground. This was especially true of the water spirit who became himself a Ba'al. The relationship between the tutelary Ba'al and his land was sometimes expressed as that between husband and wife. (This is a normal concept for the relationship of male sky to female earth; the earth/water spirit relationship here is more akin to that between the ^DU and Wurusemu.)

It is obvious that belief in territorial deities was deeply entrenched although the Old Testament writers expunged references to them. We can see it, however, as the prophets continued to berate the people for the persistence or relapse back into pagan beliefs and practices.

Even when it was allowed that others might be able to worship the Hebrew's own particular god it was still necessary for him to be worshipped on his own soil - for this purpose Naaman the Syrian takes two mule loads of earth

with him on which to build an altar for Yahweh (II Kings 5.17). (The Ark of the Covenant was a breakthrough which allowed the Israelites to carry their own god through territories of foreign gods - a tribal rather than territorial belief, later overlaid when they had become a settled agricultural people.)

It was only the horror of the Exile that broke Israel free from territorial beliefs. At first they felt themselves bereft of their own god ('How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?' *Ps.* 137.4), transported into the territory of the gods of Babylon. It was only that terrible disaster for the nation that allowed them to perceive God as God for the individual, transcending all barriers of land and peoples.

It is significant for this treatise, however, to note particularly the character of the Ba'alim. These were not at all the sort of Ba'al, rider of the clouds, storm-god and epic hero, with whom the Anatolian god has been compared. These were the local tutelary spirits, not aspects of one high god. Each one was separate, able to protect only his own piece of ground, needing to be worshipped in his own piece of ground. Although there were not the same geological conditions that would make the ground such an obvious haunt of the gods in Palestine as in central Anatolia - and so influence the development of a special *corpus* of mythology (although irrigation could be largely dependent on ground water) it is still useful to cite this parallel of a stage in religious development in which, I content, the Anatolian people remained, despite political developments, the influx of the Indo-European Hittites, and the increasing influence of the Hurrians.

I am grateful to my father, the Rev. I. A. Deighton, for drawing this parallel to my attention, and also for his help and guidance in the writing of these paragraphs. Robertson Smith, 1927, remains a most detailed and useful source on Semitic religion. In this particular connection see Lectures III and V.

CHAPTER 4: NOTES

1. See Chapter 1.
2. See Chapter 2.
3. This interpretation is now taken for granted. Laroche, 1947, p. 201 (quoted by Friedrich, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch*) makes the equation *wur* = KUR in KUB XXVIII 75 II 12 and KUB II 2 II 40.
4. Laroche, 1946/47, p. 38.
5. IBoT II 80 VI 1 f.
6. See Chapter 2.
7. Gurney, 1976, p. 53: 'To dig a hole in the ground is to open a communication with the Nether World'.
8. Haas, 1970, p. 100, note 2, KBo XI 32 V 30 f.
9. KUB XVII 35 col. 2, KUB V 5 I 6, II 14; *welleni* KBo V II 13.
10. 1776, see Haas, 1970, p. 160.
11. Laroche, 1946/47, p. 37.
12. Laroche, 1966, p. 307.
13. Laroche, 1966, p. 308 (b).
14. Laroche, 1946/47, p. 37 f.
15. Laroche, 1947, p. 215.
16. In Nerik his needs are attended to by the priest of a ^DU (of Zaḫalukka), e.g. KUB XXV 36 V 27 ff. and KBo XI 45 III 16 ff., in which the priest recites in Hattian.
17. Gurney, 1976, p. 5.
18. VBoT 58 I 26.
19. Gurney, 1952, p. 136.
20. Laroche, 1946/47, p. 38 citing KUB XII 8.
21. Macqueen, 1959, p. 175, n. 15.
22. Jacobsen, 1946, p. 146 f.
23. KUB XXXVI 89 I 10.
24. KBo III 7; also *wurulli*, Bo. 462, Haas, 1970, p. 252.
25. *w_u-ru-ul-li* (of Tešub and Ḫebat), IBoT II 39 rs. 49, ^uRHA XXXV, 1977, p. 206 - 207, *Glossaire de la langue Hourrite, Deuxième partie*.
26. KUB XXXVI 89 rs. 4 and 21 - 23 - river-banks to which

- the ^DU of Nerik retreats. Nine rivers are mentioned elsewhere, e.g. KUB XV 31 III 58 ff. ritual of offering, see Haas, 1970, p. 105.
27. E.g. for ^DUs: KUB XXXVI 90, *Evocatio* of the ^DU of Nerik, or KUB XXVIII 92, *Evocatio* of the ^DU of Zaḫalukka.
 28. See Chapter 5.
 29. Götze, 1933; KBo II 5 III 38 ff. The king had already celebrated the festival for the ^DUs of Ḫatti and Zippalanda. See Chapter 3.
 30. Major text KBo III 7, collated and transcribed in Laroche, 1965, p. 6 ff. Translated Götze, 1957, p. 139 f.; *ANET*, p. 125 ff.; Gaster, 1961, p. 256 ff. (Gaster's translations of Hittite must be approached with caution).
 31. The ^{LÚ}GUDU (Formerly ^{LÚ}IM.ME) is particularly found in association with Hattian cult, in contrast to ^{LÚ}SANGA, the general word for priest.
 32. ^DU and ^DIM are used indiscriminately.
 33. ^DIM-aš-wa-za DUMU.SAL-zu: KUB XXXIII 57 II 10.
 34. Illuyanka is not a proper name, but simply the word for snake.
 35. *argatier* - the translation, though likely, is not certain.
 36. These two kinds of drink appear in rituals, but have not been identified.
 37. A mountain-goddess.
 38. NINDA ḫarši = NINDA KUR₄.RA, the most common type of bread offered = ?leavened bread. See Hoffner, 1974, Chapter 6.
 39. Presumably her cult image.
 40. The words *pul tiyanzi* appear here, but the meaning is not certain. Götze suggests 'compete', or 'race', *ANET*, p. 120.
 41. Summarised by Haas, 1970, p. 5 ff. Ada Dağ has been commonly suggested as the location for Mt. Ḫaḫarwa (e.g. Güterbock, 1961a); the latest suggestion, from Macqueen, 1980, is Tavşan Dağ, with Nerik at the hot spring of Havza.
 42. KUB XXVIII 3 - 5 + VBoT 73. Cuneiform, also Friedrich, 1960, p. 56 f. Transliterated, Laroche, 1965, p. 13 ff. Translated, *ANET*, p. 120.
 43. The Hattian version uses the name Taru for the ^DU. See Chapter 3.
 44. The goddess concerned with magic rituals, see also the ritual of the Telepinu text.
 45. KUB XXVIII 5 II 6 - 9.

46. L/Tabarna: name of an earlier king, used as a title by the reigning king.
47. See Kammenhuber, 1959, pp. 40 - 63, 'Mythisches Fragmente'.
48. Hannahanna = ^DMAH/NIN.TU - the Mother-goddess. Her name is a reduplication of the word for grandmother.
49. Güterbock, 1959, p. 207 - 211.
50. Haas, 1970, p. 106 f.
51. Telepinu: KUB XVII 10 I 17; ^DU: KUB XXXIII 24 I 17.
52. Telepinu: KUB XVII 1 21; ^DU of Nerik: KUB XXXVI 89 rs. 38.
53. Telepinu: KBO VIII 8 rs. 11 ff., VBoT 58 IV 45; ^DU of Nerik, KUB XXXVI 89 rs. 38.
54. Telepinu: IBoT II 13 I 2, IBoT III 1 rs. 73; ^DU of Nerik, KUB XXXVI 90 obv. 25.
55. Telepinu: KUB XXXIII 10 II 4; see also KUB XXXIII 33 ?13 in which a ^DIM is found in the grove of Liḫzina.
56. KUB XVII 10 II 33 f.
57. Güterbock, 1959, p. 208.
58. KUB XX 19 III 1 - 12 and IBoT I 29, rs. 25.
59. Haas, 1970, p. 107.
60. KUB XII 60 and KUB XXXIII 81.
61. E.g. KUB XXV 23 II 10 ff.
62. Main text KUB XVII 10, with many variants, collated and transliterated in Laroche, 1965, p. 29 ff. See especially Otten, 1942, for details of the variant versions. Translations, Götze, 1957, p. 143 ff.; ANET, p. 126 ff.; Gaster, 1961, p. 302 ff.
63. KUB XXXIII 22 - 30 + KUB XXXVI 71, collated and transliterated in Laroche, 1965, p. 51 ff. Translated Güterbock, 1961, p. 144 f.
64. In this version the name of the god sending the eagle is broken away, but on the analogy of the Telepinu myth it is likely to be the Sun-god.
65. 'Fates': underworld goddesses who preside over child-birth and death.
66. Macqueen, 1959, p. 175.
67. Otten, 1942, p. 60.
68. It has been transliterated and translated into German by Haas, 1970, p. 140 ff. A partial translation of the reverse is in Güterbock, 1961, p. 153.
69. Haas restores: *nu lu-uk-kat-ta*, in the early morning.
70. Restored by Haas.
71. Restored on analogy with reverse, Haas restores

72. *Erganzung unsicher* - Haas, but it is a suitable restoration.
73. Haas restores e-*hu kar-di-mi-ia-at-ta-an*. Some word denoting anger is called for by the context. I restore *kar-pi-in* largely because I feel the gap is too small to take a longer word. There are ample examples of the use of this word to describe the wrath of a ^DU.
74. Restored by Haas from KUB XV 34 II 22 f.
75. Restored by Haas from KBo XVI 1 I 20.
76. Where this formula appears in obv. 13 the syllable A- is missing from A-ME-LU-UT-TI.
77. For the restoration of this line see Macqueen, 1959, p. 171.
78. Haas gives *ka-ri-ia-zi* - 'covered' - a reasonable thing to happen with a cloth and a table.
79. Restored by Haas from KUB XII 26 II 14.
80. Haas restores ^{ÍD}Ma-ra-aš-ša-an-ta-an, but this does not seem likely. The last sign does not look to me like -an.
81. This word is omitted by Haas.
82. Uncertain restoration by Haas.
83. Wurušemu. EREŠKIGAL and Wurušemu are usually syncretised. For the reduplication see Macqueen, 1959, p. 177, n. 30.
84. A measure.
85. See also obv. 27. Meaning unknown.
86. Šulinkatte = ^DU.GUR = NERGAL. Luwian god of evil and pestilence, and of protection from these things. The ^DU of Nerik is elsewhere said to be the son of the ^DU of Heaven (rs. 38). See Haas, 1970, p. 72 ff.
87. = Wurunkatte.
88. *hapax legomenon*.
89. Birds are used in rituals connected with the underworld. Hoffner identifies the šuraššura-bird with the pigeon, RHA 76 (1965), 13, n. 41. See also Haas, p. 173. The šuraššura-bird also appears in the ritual of the underworld gods KUB VII 41 II 26.
90. = Wurušemu.
91. The Halys or Kızıl Irmak.
92. Meaning unknown.
93. A holy chamber. See Haas, p. 90 f. and p. 168 f. Macqueen makes the interesting suggestion that the

dahanga may have been actually constructed over the spring of Nerik (identified by him as the hot spring of Havza). See Macqueen, 1980.

94. The identity of this ^DU is a matter for debate. Haas takes it as the ^DU of Heaven - a view which I share - because of the use of the third person. Macqueen takes it as the ^DU of Nerik because of the specified ^DU of Heaven a few lines later. It has to be said that neither interpretation can make really adequate sense of these enigmatic lines.
95. Macqueen (1980) suggests that Nerik is not on a bend on the Marašanta (hitherto assumed, e.g. by Güterbock, 1961, p. 153 f.), but the Nakkiliata. He suggests a tributary of the Iris (Yeşil Irmak), specifically, a stream flowing from Sousanji into the Iris, into which the waters from the hot spring of Havza flow.
96. Haas: 'spring'.
97. Meaning unknown.
98. Deified *dahanga*.
99. Meaning unknown.
100. = Wurušemu.
101. *hapax legomenon*.
102. The concubine of the ^DU of Nerik. Discussed in Laroche, 1947, p. 209 ff.
103. See Robertson Smith, 1927, p. 83 f.
104. See Macqueen, 1959, p. 180 ff.
105. Restored by Haas from KBo XII 88 10.
106. Text gives -ta-.
107. Text gives GUD.
108. The text appears to give -uš. The similarity between ša and uš is not so close as between pi and GUD in the previous syllable. See also Haas, 1970, p. 181.
109. The following EN-IA seems to demand this as part of the formula, although there hardly seems to be the space available.
110. Variant of Ḫaḫarwa. See Haas, 1970, p. 78 and 181.
111. Meaning unknown.
112. Nerikil - the close relationship between the ^DUs of Zaḫalukka and Nerik was such that this epithet came to be applied. See Haas, 1970, p. 69 f.
113. See Haas, p. 183 ff. for transcription.
114. Bo. 3136 II 4.
115. E.g. Bo. 3136 II 10: ^DU of Nerik; ABoT 8 I 15: GAL IŠKUR; KUB V 7 I 12: ^DU of Zippalanda.

116. KBo II 1 I 43.
117. KUB XVII 35 III 23.
118. KUB XXVII 68 I 3 - 18.
119. ABoT 8 I 15.
120. See Chapter 1. Both Carter and Gurney discuss the precise meaning of ^{DOG}*harsi*. The problem of etymology is not yet resolved, but there is a definite connection with thunder.
121. Gurney, 1940, p. 124.
122. *Cat.* 604 - 625.
123. *Cat.* 626.
124. Gotze, 1957, p. 91 ff.
125. Guterbock, 1961a.
126. Guterbock, 1961a, p. 89.
127. See Gaster, 1961, p. 193 f.
128. Bo. 2839 III.
129. A later Anatolian example of this same persistence of the local deity is given in Bryce, 1981. In Lycia (where Tarhunt remained prominent) Leto was seen '. . . not as a national goddess, but rather as a local goddess . . .'. The same applied to other deities.

CHAPTER 5

THE HURRIAN QUESTION - POSTSCRIPT

Another, foreign, deity is denoted in Hittite versions of his myth by the signs ^DU or ^DIM, that is the Hurrian high god, Tešub. Hurrian mythology forms a part of a defined chronological chain starting (in spirit if not in detail) in Babylon and continuing through Hurrian to Phoenician to Greek myth. The Kumarbi = Kronos equation and the comparison of the mythological epic of the Hurrians and the *Theogony* of Hesiod have formed much of the motive force for scholarship (1). The briefest examination will show that the Hurrian religion and the indigenous beliefs which we contend were the major factor in the religion of the Hittite period have little in common. We must mention Tešub because he was superficially identified with the ^DU whom we have sought. In effect this was simply the obvious syncretisation of the major male deities of two separate panthea and has a political rather than religious significance.

Güterbock has collated the evidence for Hurrian influence and importance in the Hittite empire (2). The Hurrianisation of the royal family in the later part of the New Empire is unquestioned, and evidence of personal names, cult texts dateable to a particular king and treaties seems to suggest an earlier involvement (3). The sanctuary at Yazılıkaya provides visual evidence for the extent of Hurrian domination and syncretisation, certainly in the cult of the capital. The gods are named with their Hurrian names (in hieroglyphic script): the ^DW = Tešub; Hebat was syncretised with the Sun-goddess of Arinna. This is an obvious correspondence of the two leading female deities. Hebat was a solar deity, but her mother was Allatum, an underworld goddess. Šarruma follows his mother Hebat. He was the protector god of Tudḫaliya IV and was syncretised with the ^DU of Nerik (4). He is described as the calf of Tešub. (Interestingly, a relief at Malatya describes Šarruma, as ^DŠaru +^{ma} HUR.SAG LUGAL, i.e. 'Šarruma, the mountain king', which would provide a good superficial ground for syncretisation with the ^DU of Nerik.) Šarruma, while described as the calf of Tešub, did come to be called the son of the ^DU, and as the son of Hebat by syncretisation, therefore the son of the Sun-goddess of Arinna - as was the ^DU of Nerik (5). The confusion of identities could lead not only to Tešub being identified with Anatolian ^DUs but also the other way around, e.g. in the treaty between Mattiwaza and Suppiluliuma (6) we find side by side obvious Anatolian deities referred to as Tešub: of Nirik

(Nerik), and of Liḫzina, together with obviously Hurrian deities, e.g. Tešub of Ḫalab (Aleppo), Tešub of Šamuḫa, and Tešub of Kizzuwatna. It is impossible to be certain, but it may well be that with the passing generations the distinction between the two types became blurred and perhaps even forgotten. Whether this would apply in areas outside the direct influence of the court and capital is another matter - popular religious belief is very tenacious.

The syncretisation extended across the pantheon. A notable facet, indeed, of the Hurrian pantheon is its organisation - another sign of the more developed and codified nature of Hurrian religion, as it has come down to us, which we also find in their myth. The gods, under the leadership of Tešub or Ḫebat, were arranged into circles (7) (*kalutiš*: Laroche = 'cercle, liste', he derives from *kalutiya* = approximately 'énumérer' [8]; Friedrich = 'Reihe, Kreis, Gemeinschaft' [9]). Generally, the composition of the circles is completely Hurrian, although we do find, together with the Sun-goddess of Arinna, her daughters Ḫulla and Mezzula (10).

When we come to consider Hurrian myth we find something quite different from the Hittite myths that we have already examined. The Kumarbi cycle is full-fledged epic, written in a literary style (with the drawback, to the modern ear, of such epic devices as the repetition of phrases word for word) and even perhaps, as Güterbock has suggested in an experiment with transcription (11), poetry. So far, he has only tried this method with *The Song of Ullikummi*, but it is certainly worth noting that this part of the cycle is called a 'song' (SĪR). We do not have the title of the first part - 'Kingship in Heaven'. The style of these myths is quite different from the indigenous ones, which were written in fairly bald prose. The comparison between the literary style of the Hurrian epic and the primitive style (almost 'folk-tale') of the Anatolian myth has been remarked on frequently (12), and is very evident. Another contrast is that while the Hittite myths that have survived have only done so because they were written down in connection with ritual, the Hurrians wrote down theirs for their own sake. (Other Hurrian myths and legends have survived, but are not relevant here.)

The principal interest in Hurrian myth, so far as a comparative study is concerned, is, as we have said, their influence on later, especially Greek myth. They lie quite outside the Anatolian traditions which have been the object of this study. They concentrate particularly on Kumarbi, who has been equated with Kronos in Greek, and El, in the Phoenician version. Güterbock has charted the correspondences in the *Kingship* sequence in Babylonian (not exactly parallel), Hurrian, Phoenician and Greek myth (13). Tešub is equal to Ba'al or Zeus (or Marduk - the final victor in the political and mythological struggle for power in Mesopotamia). The parallels, both in the story of the generations of the gods, and of the fight against an

adversary who at first gains the upper hand have been dealt with at length by Güterbock and Meriggi and are not part of this enquiry.

Tešub seems to have been ousted more than once: there is a fragmentary version (14) in which Tešub is temporarily bested by KAL/LAMA, but he triumphs in the end. This is thought to form an intermediary episode between *Kingship in Heaven* and *The Song of Ullikummi*.

The Song of Ullikummi (15) is the longest part of the cycle and describes the struggle between Tešub (here always given the Sumerogram U) of Kummiya and the stone monster (16) Ullikummi created by Kumarbi to overthrow him. We presume that Tešub was the victor in the final battle (how could he not have been?), but unfortunately the end of the epic is lost. The fact that both Tešub and the indigenous U have to face a challenge to their supremacy, and the fact that Zeus fights Typhoeos, a snaky creature like Illuyanka, need not imply close correspondences. Many high gods of different cultures have similar challenges to face, and the confusion between the snake of one culture and the stone monster of another to a foreign people centuries later is not remarkable.

Tešub is the high god. He has a wife Hebat, as we have seen, is attended by Tašmišu (who has been equated by Laroche with the Hattic deity Tešimi [17]), the mountains Namni and Hazzi (Mt. Hazzi plays an important part in the myth of the battle - it appears in Canaanite as Mt. Saphon, in Greek at Mt. Casius and has been identified with the Kal Dağ near Antioch [18]), and by the two bulls Šeri and Hurri, who pull his cart and whose names mean Day and Night in Hurrian. The U was portrayed on a bull and the association might have assisted the syncretisation. The evidence of twin bulls (as in the chapel on Büyükkale) rather than a single bull may suggest Tešub as the object of worship. Curiously, in *The Song of Ullikummi* the bulls are given the names Šerišu and Tella (19). Tešub uses thunderstorms, rain and winds, and lightning in his battle (20). All the evidence equates Tešub with gods who are manifestly sky-gods and true 'weather'-gods - Ba'al and Zeus. For all the syncretisation and later blurring of identity we can say that Tešub was equated with the indigenous U through the action of a Hurrian dynasty but was fundamentally of a different nature. He was designated by the same sign, and therefore must be mentioned, but as a postscript rather than an integral part of this study.

CHAPTER 5: NOTES

1. E.g. Güterbock, 1948; Meriggi, 1953 and Güterbock, 1946, especially pp. 100 ff.
2. Güterbock, 1954.
3. Güterbock, 1954, p. 391 suggesting that the Hurrian dynasty may have begun with Tudhaliya II. See also Laroche, 1966, p. 355 ff.
4. Haas, 1970, p. 110 ff. In one text quoted by Haas, however (KUB II 13 V 10 - 15), both Šarumma and the D^U of Nerik are mentioned at once. Confusion resulting from syncretisation also occurs in KUB XXXVI 89 with the Sun-goddess of Arinna and EREŠKIGAL: See Chapter 4.
5. See especially Haas, 1970, p. 112.
6. Weidner, 1970, p. 28 f. and p. 48 f.
7. Laroche, 1949.
8. Laroche, 1949, p. 113.
9. Freidrich, 1952, p. 96.
10. Laroche, 1949, e.g. KUB XXVII 13 (p. 115). Laroche notes (p. 118) '*les deux intruses, Hulla et Mezzula, déesses hatties qui n'ont que faire parmi ces étrangers*'.
 11. Güterbock, 1952, p. 141 - 145, and the experimental transcription column *passim*.
12. Gurney (1952, p. 188) goes so far as to describe the Yuzgat Tablet as 'especially infantile'.
13. See Güterbock, 1946, p. 113.
14. Meriggi, 1953, p. 132 ff.; Güterbock, 1946, texts 1b and c; Otten, 1950, p. 9 ff.
15. Most complete version, Güterbock, 1952 and 1953.
16. Once referred to as diorite, but Güterbock (1953, p. 37) has shown that this is an unsafe translation of *kunkunuzzi*.
17. Laroche, 1947, p. 209 ff.
18. Güterbock, 1947, p. 71.
19. See Güterbock, 1953, col. III p. 14 f.
20. Col. III of Güterbock's revised version 8 - 12.

IN CONCLUSION

This enquiry began at the beginning - in the very bed-rock of Anatolia before man ever walked on it - and now that the end has been reached it will, I trust, seem a proper beginning. The *hateššar*, the vanishing god and his spring; the mountains, the valleys and the dark waters; the waterside shrines; the sunken chambers on Büyükkale - all these fit into a pattern.

This pattern will be clear to all when we cease to use the appellation 'Weather-god'. Scholars persist in using this term, although over the years there have been changes in the understanding of the nature of the deity. Now is the time to discard it. In these chapters has been presented all the relevant evidence for the identity of these gods of the Hittite pantheon.

We have seen the sort of environment in which the Anatolian peoples lived - on the surface much changed today - but the land and the waters remain, even if the woods and pastures have suffered. The character of the land was conducive to a certain kind of religious development. Indeed, as I have said in the preface, it was a meeting with the evidence of one myth in particular that led me back to find out, if I could, why such development should take place. My researches into geology and geography confirmed to me what I had perceived in myth. Perhaps it is a circular argument, but it does not fail for that - the circle is unbroken. It works.

The archaeological evidence, such as there is, fits into the pattern that we have seen. Indeed the archaeological evidence that does not exist forms part of the argument. Everything points to an outdoor religion, a chthonic religion. Within the Hittite area proper there is a considerable dearth of material, but I do not think that this need imply that the rock monuments, which are particularly important, form part of a different religious tradition. The evidence is, I feel, to the contrary. The $D^W = D^U$ appears on many monuments, even though we do not always know what he is doing - the exception being the depiction of the Illuyanka story at Malatya - sure evidence of a continuity of religious tradition. The lack of textual evidence for some scenes is understandable, however much to be regretted, when we recall that the only extant myths were written down in connection with ritual, and not for their own sake. It is, I think, safe to assume that there was a wealth of Hittite religion and folklore of which we know, and so it will probably remain, nothing. There was interaction between the Luwian and Hittite panthea,

and hints of similarity in Palaic religion, so it seems a likely inference that the indigenous Anatolian religious practices were strong and widespread, influencing the Indo-European newcomers and indeed submerging their own religion. Perhaps Dyaus/Zeus/Jupiter did exert some influence on the nature of the local god, bringing thunder and lightning under his control, but perhaps he had nothing to do with it. Certainly we can say that the locations of monuments: carved into mountainsides, rocks, watersides, are just the sort of thing we might expect. If we see things this way, other pieces of evidence, shrines at Hattuša, the 'solar discs', etc., fall neatly into their places.

The textual evidence speaks plainly. As far as myth is concerned, it is possible to see why misunderstandings of, in particular, the meaning of the Telepinu myth, and the parallel IM and lesser myths might have arisen. Scholars, especially those coming from the study of contemporary Near Eastern religions, might easily fail to be attuned to the salient differences - the god does not die, so far from that he withdraws of his own free will, and there is nothing in the texts to suggest a seasonal interpretation. It is possible to impose such an interpretation, but if one looks carefully one realises that it is an imposition, and not intrinsic.

It is when we come to the myth of the ^DU of Nerik that all is made abundantly clear. It was this myth that brought me to my understanding of the case, and it forms the key to all my work, the master block in the pattern. If we examine other evidence of Anatolian religion, especially, of course, with reference to the so-called 'Weather-god', the interpretation of much, if not all, becomes obvious, and inconsistencies are resolved. It is certain that the God of Nerik is an underground god, a water-god. The apparent inconsistency of beseeching a god of ground water for rain does not, in fact, exist. It is a reasonable extension of power, as Robertson Smith has pointed out with regard to the development of the Ba'alim (1927, p. 106 f.). It is extraordinary that this highly significant text, which has been known for many years, has been so much ignored. Even Haas, in the course of his researches into the cult of Nerik, appears not to have stopped to consider the implications of some of his material. Much cultic material, admittedly, is useless, and many ritual texts even of Nerik and the God of Nerik himself do not really tell us what we want to know. There are, nonetheless, those that do, as I have shown.

All the combined evidences of Chapters 1, 2 and 4 help us to build up a good, consistent picture of some of the nature and roles of the misnamed Weather-god, and of some generalities in Anatolian religion. That what I have termed 'the Chthonic Element' was very strong is, I think, manifest. That this chthonic element combined with water provision forms the fundamental character of the gods we seek to understand should be plain.

Problems remain: can we pinpoint the exact nature of the god, and if so, what do we call him? For this it may be well to consider the evidence of Chapter 3. The basic character must be that of a local water-god, but specifically a god of *ground*-water. That a spring or river should be thought to contain its own special spirit is no new idea, but in Anatolia this genius was not simply in the water but part of the underworld. The connections of the developed gods are with the underworld as we have seen, mother, father, *hateššar*, retreat to the nine seas or riverbanks. It seems to me to be a likely development that the local genius became promoted to godhead, without ever losing his local character. Usually the development of society leads to syncretisation - in theory at least - although local people will stick to their own traditions. That no syncretisation of this kind seems to have taken place in the Hittites' (or indeed later) Anatolia is one of the major oddities of their religion. Each god remained separate and distinct. If we look at the list of variants in Chapter 3 (this is as complete as I have been able to make it, but undoubtedly a long way short of the total, which we shall probably never know), we see evidence of this. This list shows us something else. Not only were there the area or town gods, but also gods of rain, clouds, dew, the army, increase, the cattle-stall, and so on. Included in these are thunder, lightning and storm, certainly. These are the attributes of a 'weather-god', but there is something different involved here. It seems to me that, just as the word Ba'al extended and changed its meaning, becoming in the end a title, so might something similar have been the case with ^DU - perhaps we may see it extending in meaning over the centuries and coming to represent a kind of general deification. Clouds, rain and other meteorological phenomena would require deification, so they would come to be, or have, a ^DU. These obvious examples might anyway represent an expansion in the original jurisdiction of the gods, and from this it would not perhaps be difficult to reach out farther to deify or bless by the bestowing of a special ^DU other phenomena, or institutions (such as the army), or buildings (such as the house of the queen) - for the range, see the catalogue. In making this suggestion I do not wish to imply that the original function and nature of the god was lost from sight, for I do not believe that such was the case. Confusion may have resulted from the introduction of the alien Hurrian pantheon but, whatever may have happened at court, it is probable that each village and farmstead carried on regardless. Parallels for such behaviour are easy to find.

So what do we call this deity? 'Weather-god' will not do. We do not know what the Hittites called their gods: the same name, different names, or no name at all - perhaps ^DU can be translated quite simply as 'God' - a possibility explored by Macqueen (1959, p. 180), although he was presenting a very different case. The problem of nomenclature, as I found in investigating the subject, raises plenty of

fascinating questions, and provides little or nothing in the way of answers. One suspects that a satisfactory resolution of the problem will not be forthcoming. It may be that some of the most important ^DUs gained their own names, while other remained anonymous.

That the god was originally a water provider is sure, but 'Water-god' will not really do, as it does not cover the whole range of possibilities. Perhaps simply 'God' might be the most acceptable English expression of the term. I have found it best, however, in the course of this work, to stick to the meaningless (in a Hittite context) but distinctive ^DU.

The real difficulty here, as with so much in Hittite studies, is the lack of evidence. Every scholar in the field knows that sooner or later - usually sooner - he will come across an unfathomable gap. There is a great deal that we do not know about the religion of the Hittites and the other peoples of Bronze Age Anatolia. I have, however, examined what is available to be known about the ^DU, and presented the evidence for his nature as a chthonic water god. I trust this evidence, which has convinced me, may also convince others.

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